2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

them a great variety of Tamilian, Mysorean, Malabari and other dependents, including a few Eurasians. With this contact people of southern India began to learn about the strange men, scarcely Hindus, who already inhabited these hills. Immigrants began to find labouring jobs on the tea and coffee plantations from the 1840s; and as they took up this new occupation they brought the indigenous Nilgiri tribes into closer contact with the traditions and practices of South Indian Hinduism. Today the plantations are the main source of the district income, and they attract an ever-increasing number of migrant labourers from elsewhere in South India. In 1971 there were some 370,000 immigrants living in the Nilgiris, three-quarters of the total population (see Appendix 1).

These immigrants belong to a wide range of castes. Normally, while maintaining occupational roles in Nilgiri society, they also attempt to continue the behaviour that distinguishes their own castes and try to keep up social ties with their places of origin. From the point of view of the indigenous communities, however, these caste distinctions are of little importance: immigrants are classified under seven rough headings—Tamilians, Kanarese, Andhras, Malayalis, Christians, Moslems and Europeans (lit. 'Kings'). The indigenous people are aware that there are caste divisions within these categories but are unconcerned with them; and as the immigrants are classed according to mother-tongue or religious creed, they are not even organized by the local residents into a simple caste hierarchy. It is true that Andhras, for example, are thought to have an inferior status; but this is because they are nearly always day-labourers for the Nilgiri farmers. Their low status, like that of other labourers, is determined by their poverty and poor education rather than by their caste affiliations. There *is* a status hierarchy in the Nilgiris, but it has economic and educational determinants that should not be confused with the ritual determinants of caste ranking elsewhere in India.

Except among Todas, Kotas and Europeans, the rate of population growth in this district has been remarkably high: for the decade 1961–1971 it was a staggering 38%, attributable to continuing immigration as well as to the increase of births over deaths. This greatly surpasses the State average of 22.3% and the all-India figure of 24.8%. This demographic factor, together with a high rate of literacy and the fact that plantations make this one of the wealthier districts in southern India, indicates that the Nilgiris are by no means typical of rural India. Indeed they tend towards

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

177 the upper extreme for the nation in population growth, volume of immigration, natural wealth, and—most important—rural literacy, education, and knowledge of the outside world.

NOTES

121 1. I have not adopted the popular but chauvinistic approach of seeking out the Aryan, Dravidian or autochthonous elements in Badaga culture—in my view, a sterile and simplistic exercise.

681 626 2. An ostracized person would not live in the jungle, but would look for a distant hamlet where he might be accepted; see below, p. 171, 198.

[p. 10 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

increasingly loath to share a relatively high income with his extended family. Thus large joint families are no longer as common as they were half a century ago: an average Badaga household today contains only 5.5 members, and the range in size is from one to perhaps twenty.

LINEAGE

Several joint families able to agree on precisely how they are descended from a common male ancestor consider themselves a *minimal* or a *minor lineage* (in Baḍagu, *guppu).* This is an exogamous and patrilineal group living in a single village and is the most important lineage for members, often the only one they know by name. It tends to split into two lineages every four or five generations. The *guppu* is a unit within which interest-free loans are obtained and which even today has a buffalo herd in common. It no longer holds land in common, though at its inception the joint family of the founder did, and each descendant is still entitled to a proportion of his land. This lineage tends to hold family ceremonies together. If further participants are wanted at such ceremonies the remainder of the *major lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kutti)* can be invited. This consists of at least two minor lineages the leaders of which can trace their ancestry back to a common founder. Very often the major lineages in one or several neighbouring villages summate to a *maximal lineage* (in Baḍagu, *kuḍumbu)* and responsible members can trace their actual descent from its founder, too. All levels of lineage can be referred to by a founder's name, though in many villages no more than one level is now recognized. Lineages of all levels may be invited to attend family ceremonies.

From the example in Diagram 6 it can be seen that a maximal lineage has a depth of about seven generations. As at O:ranayi the maximal lineage is very often coterminous with the village, which explains the exogamy of most villages. There are, however, some exceptional villages, notably those of the Wodeas and Toreas, and of the Gaudas of So:lu:ru commune and Ha:sanu:ru, which contain several distinct lineages from *different* clans within each village; so that while exogamy still marks the lineage it is not characteristic of the villages.

There is a strong sense of lineage solidarity, strongest at the minor level but still significant at the maximal. In case of a dispute

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

support for his high rank. Many also maintain that the Wodeas were descended from ancient Virashaiva Lingayats, reached the Nilgiris before any other Lingayats and came as priests, for which reasons too they deserve primacy.

Nobody disputes with the Christians or the Toreas for their lowly position, not even the Kota tribe who find themselves ranked lower still. On the other hand there is a movement now afoot to accord the Ha:ruvas higher status than the Wodeas: this springs from the minority who support a pro-Ha:ruva and pro-music faction. The mechanics of upward mobility for Ha:ruvas, a vegetarian group since its inception, have been to abrogate marital links with lower clans. The Ha:ruvas may marry Gaudas (non-vegetarians), Kohgaru (vegetarians), Kanakkas and Adikiris (both Lingayat vegetarians). At present the frequency of marriage with Gaudas is decreasing noticeably, so that the Ha:ruvas are shifting away from their lower-status affines while becoming more closely linked by marriage with the Lingayats, though not adopting Lingayat religious practices themselves.

Recently Mandelbaum (1970, 20) has described the Badagas as a *jati*-cluster. It is true that the units often identified as subcastes are now thought to constitute a hierarchy; but *none* of the ten is totally endogamous like a *jati*. Hypogamous marriages occur as often as hypergamous ones, a state of affairs not found between *jatis*, especially as marriage may take place between vegetarian and non-vegetarian Badagas. The ceremonial and economic links that one expects between *jatis* are of no consequence here except at the top of the hierarchy: Wodeas and Ha:ruvas do have attenuated ritual roles to play for the rest of the community, though over the past forty years these have been almost abandoned. Such linkages between the groupings are slight as compared with the economic and ceremonial ties between any Badaga village and its nearest Kota neighbour. These facts do not really justify calling the Badaga community a hierarchy or cluster of *jatis*: the concept of *jati* is unnecessary to this analysis. Phratry is the usual word by which anthropologists identify a grouping of clans, and there is no need to depart from that form here, especially as by doing so we might conjure up ideas of multi-caste villages, *jati* endogamy and *jati* occupational specialization which find no place in Badaga social organization although they are widespread in India.

M.N. Srinivas (personal comment, 1965) is probably right in suggesting, however, that at some point in the past, perhaps a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

couple of centuries ago, the Badagas adopted a caste model of society (or revived memories of the old Mysorean one) and attempted with only moderate success to fit their collection of lineages to it: indeed this perhaps was the act of synoecism. The inadequate fit that they achieved is reflected both in recent shifts in the ranking and in the ambiguous position that the claim to Brahminic status has brought to the Ha:ruvas. This group long ago adopted the 'sacred' thread,[5] a vegetarian diet and the role of priests, but they have no initiation ceremony, no *śra:ddha* for the dead and—having been illiterate—no Sanskrit or other holy writings. In the mid-nineteenth century they were still quite ignorant of Hindu scriptures, (B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73). They now find themselves caught between two models, as it were, for while they are trying to develop the image of orthodox Brahmins other Badagas find that model much less appealing then a new westernizing model upheld by Christians and by the large, dominant Gauda phratry, a model that displaced their older tribal model nearly a century ago. A more general ambiguity is expressed by shifts in the ranking of the hierarchy as certain Badagas attempt to achieve a more convincing accord between recently learnt Brahminic ideals and local needs. Since the Badagas have shown little willingness to modify the customary marriage patterns they are obliged to accept the anomaly of a hierarchy relevant only for ritual and not for marriage purposes: this sets them off from the usual model of caste society in which the units of the hierarchy are clearly delineated by marriage rules.

Another explanation for the lack of concern about status congruence when a marriage is being arranged is that the social status of a young girl is determined by the village where she lives. Girls before puberty are for many purposes treated as children of the entire village rather than of one particular family. Once a girl has attained menarche (in earlier days, before that) she should be married into another village, where she becomes identified with her husband's family and where her status is determined only by the clan and the affluence of that family, never by her own father's. The same attitude towards women is clearly reflected in the kinship system, where only the males' generation level is important in determining relationships. The generation level of a woman is that of her husband and can actually change as she marries successive husbands from different generations.[6] Though a cross-cousin is preferred, a Badaga may marry women, either

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

562 582 concurrently or sequentially, from his aunts' and nieces' generation levels as well as from his own: such co-wives would all attain the generation level of their husband by these marriages. It is this outlook on women that permits Badaga marriages even between differently ranked clans without any thought of hypergamy being advantageous or hypogamy reprehensible.

582 604 Marriage between cross-cousins is the ideal, but because a young man's spiritual guidance is the responsibility of the mother's brother his daughter is less preferable as a bride for that youth than the father's sister's daughter. The mother's brother, called a *guru*, has a distinctly superior status to his nephew's, yet as giver of a daughter in marriage he must occupy an inferior position in the eyes of the groom and the groom's parents. This is because the bride's father feels under some obligation to the family who will take away his daughter. As one old man explained the matter, the feeling is expressed in the newly emerging practice of offering gifts of some thousands of rupees to 'bribe' a youth into a marriage. The likelihood of role ambiguity in cases where a man marries his *guru's* daughter is avoided either by searching out a classificatory cross-cousin, or by choosing the daughter of a mother's brother other than the spiritual guide or by marrying a father's sister's daughter. (Only among the Toreas is marriage with a classificatory niece permissible: she is a father's brother's daughter's daughter.)

• [178] [583] [184]

Role ambiguity may also affect the women in a household where a man has married his *guru's* daughter. In that situation the bride's aunt (her father's sister) is also her husband's mother. The bride, relying on her father's influence over his own sister, tends to quarrel more with her than in the alternative case where a man has married his father's sister's daughter: the latter should be more timid and controllable and thus more appreciated.

[578] [596]

582 583 628 A further reason for preferring marriage with a daughter of the father's sister is the need for reciprocity in bride-giving between exogamous villages. If a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, he is *taking* a girl from the same village, lineage and family whence his own father also *took* a wife. On the other hand a reciprocal relationship has been honoured, Badagas feel, when the youth *takes* his bride (the father's sister's daughter) from the same village, lineage and family to which his father's father *gave* a daughter in marriage. Since bride-giving is thought to be somewhat demeaning, this reciprocity allows the families to maintain their relative social standing.

[558]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

4

Traditional Interchange (1)

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE PLATEAU COMMUNITIES

Until the First World War the Badagas were as intimately involved in the traditional system of economic and ritual interaction of the Nilgiris as were the other main participants, the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Throughout the whole of the last century, from the first detailed description of the Badagas in 1812 (Keys) until Father Tignous' account in 1911, there seems to have been no essential change in the organization of this complex relationship; but since World War I the Badagas have withdrawn more and more from the obligations and privileges which had been traditionally theirs. What were these obligations and privileges? How complex were they?

Their economic and social relations have been summarized diagrammatically in the perhaps over-simplified way shown in Diagram 8.[1]

The system of interdependence that we outline here involved a complex but standardized division of labour not unlike the *jajmani* system (see Wiser, 1936; Beidelman, 1959, *passim*) commonly found in multi-caste Indian villages. In order to understand the full complexity of this system, we shall have to reconstruct it from several types of observation. The details are discussed at length by several writers, are still known to the older villagers and to some extent can yet be observed in a few dozen Nilgiri villages. Recently,

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

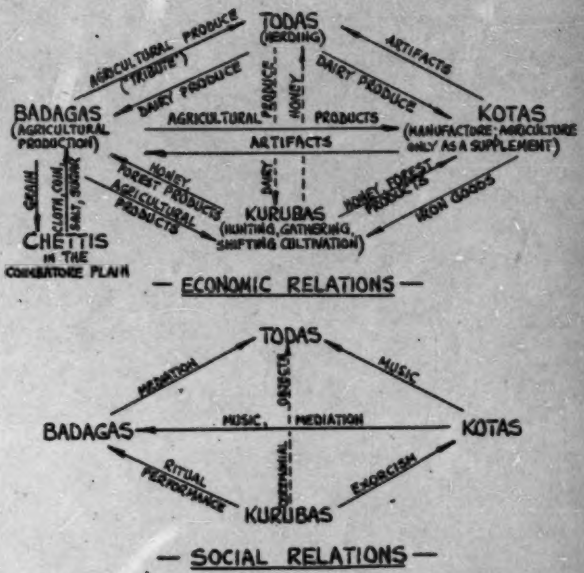

Diagram 8. Economic and social relations among the Nilgiri communities.

with the cash economy becoming almost universal among these communities and the proportion of Badagas to Todas and Kotas rising rapidly (see Appendix 2), this relationship has diminished to the point where it is today a mere skeleton of what it was prior to 1930. The breakdown is apparent in all parts of the Nilgiris although in different localities it has proceeded at differing rates depending in part on the accessibility of a bazaar.

BADAGAS AND KOTAS

The ties linking the Badagas and Kotas have always been closer and more complex than those between any other pair of Nilgiri communities, largely because the Kotas can perform a wider range of services than any other group. These inter-community ties are

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

1900 or a little before, thatch was replaced by tiled rooves which were considered more convenient, safe and prestigeful; and the Kotas do not generally lay tiles.

For at least the past century Badagas and Kotas have been building their houses of locally made bricks. Kota bricklayers have built Badaga houses, and Badaga bricklayers have also built Kota houses. In either case the traditional ties are not necessarily involved, if only because so very few Badagas or Kotas can lay bricks properly. In these situations payment is generally made in cash according to recognized rates for the labour performed.

Badaga Products

Apart from the annual grant of grain and cloth to Kotas, their Badaga partners used to give them whatever cattle died. 'All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the Kotas, and feasted on by them . . . and at no time do the Kotas thrive so well as when there is a murrain among the herds of the Todas and Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 128).

Although Badagas and Todas used to exchange cattle on occasion, no such trade ever took place between Kotas and Badagas; indeed until the mid-nineteenth century the other communities would not allow Kotas to own any buffaloes, and after they did have some they still did not milk them (Reclus, 1891: 192; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7). The Kotas would eat every Badaga or Toda buffalo that died, however, or would kill and eat an aging beast (normally a bull) given them for the purpose; but it is noteworthy that once they started keeping herds they would never eat any of their own buffalo carcasses.[8]

Another item for which the Kotas looked to the Badagas in the last century was opium. Good quality opium was produced on the Nilgiris at that time, but the Badagas seem to have held a monopoly on it. Today anyone can buy poppy capsules illicitly in the town markets (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 9).

Irregular Services

There are certain services which Kotas are called upon to render only when some unusual situation arises. Thus Kotas do not normally help their Badaga partners to harvest the crops; but if a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

178 241 Badaga had difficulties in harvesting a large crop he might until recent years ask his Kota partner's family to help. An agreement would be made for the Kotas to receive perhaps one-fourth or one-fifth of the harvest, in addition to the usual yearly gifts.

178 Another service which Kota friends may be expected to render irregularly, with or without a monetary incentive, is the supply of sexual partners. Affairs between Badaga men and Kota girls are supposedly forbidden, since the Kota can pollute a Badaga in a ritual sense. Nevertheless a Badaga (even a Lingayat) may occasionally ask his Kota partner to get him a Kota girl. Badagas claim that these girls have no objection in general to such arrangements for they believe that any offspring of these affairs, though brought up as Kotas, will have some of the admired (834) qualities of the higher-status Badaga. No opprobrium attaches to Kotas said to have Badaga fathers. Intercourse between Kota men and Badaga women, on the other hand, is altogether impermissible.

Once in a lifetime a Kota should make a ceremonial visit to the house of each Badaga partner's married daughter. At a prearranged time the Kota, perhaps accompanied by his wife, goes there and presents the daughter with some woman's implement, generally a sickle. In return for this—and on behalf of her husband, not her father—the woman gives the Kota at least one item of cloth, most commonly a loincloth.

Just as there are situations in which a Badaga has to call on his Kota partner for irregular services, so are there times when the Kota may need his Badaga friend's help. In general these occur in four kind of situation. One is when a Kota wants to borrow something—usually money—that is not available in his own village. Since 1800 the Kotas have been increasingly involved in the cash economy for they have had to pay land taxes and buy musical horns and scrap iron from lowland towns, and these transactions required ready money. Secondly, a Kota may ask his Badaga partner to help him arrange for a reputable Badaga therapist to give medical treatment (Hockings, 1979b). Thirdly, as not all Kotas have regular Toda trading-partners, a Kota may have to ask a Badaga partner to arrange for some needed timber from that Badaga's Toda friend. Lastly, Badaga elders may help arbitrate in disputes between Kotas, just as Kota headmen in former times might become the judges for a serious dispute in the nearby Badaga communes.[9]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Traditional Interchange (2)

BADAGAS AND TODAS

Until quite recently every Badaga family maintained an exchanging relationship with a Toda man; some still do.[1] This relationship is inherited on either side by a son from his father and usually links one Toda to an entire Badaga village. This connexion is structurally different from the ties between Badagas and Kotas, as specific Toda women are not formally involved in it in the way that Kota wives are; for in a polyandrous society like the Todas' the fact that a woman might have several husbands simultaneously could mean that if she were associated with the Badaga partner of each she would become overwhelmed by the requirements of these divided loyalties. In practice the same Toda man is normally partner to all the Badagas in a village, and some are even linked with everyone in half-a-dozen neighbouring Badaga villages.

Toda culture has seemingly changed less than either Badaga or Kota culture during the past century-and-a-half. Indeed Finicio, writing in 1603 (p. 723), describes the same economy and the same kind of interdependence with Badagas that Rivers was to find exactly 300 years later.

In the early days of European contact Harkness (1832, 39) noted:

> A very good understanding exists between these two tribes, the Tuda assuming to himself a superiority which the Burgher

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

648 When I first commenced by missionary labors on the Neilgherries, and whilst I was considered by the natives as their great friend, my object having been then but imperfectly understood, I was repeatedly asked to rid them of the Kurumbas, that is, to get them hunted down like wild beasts and exterminated, and they would remember my name with gratitude for ever.

178 186 648 Badagas claim that until quite recently a Kurumba council would sometimes authorize Kurumba youths to go out for a few weeks and practise the sorcery they had learned. At such times the Kurumba watchman would warn all the Badagas he was supposedly protecting that this was going on, and that they should not leave their homes after dark or take needless risks; nor should they blame him for any deaths, as each youth was permitted by the tribal council to kill one man. Since Kurumbas could also kill each other it was believed that no young sorcerer would try his skill against members of a Badaga commune protected by a more powerful Kurumba, as the latter might well retaliate out of revenge against his fellow tribesman.

Exchange of Goods and Services

439 Despite the tension-fraught nature of the relationship, the Kurumba watchman is no mere predator on the paranoid fears of Badagas: he does engage in economic exchange with them, too. Kurumbas are expected to supply the communes with three kinds of basket: two types of winnow and a large flat basket to hold grain while drying. They also provide their Badaga communes with certain rare species of timber found on the jungle slopes, especially the hard *ka:rča* wood needed for pounders. In the past honey, tamarind, bees-wax and knotted nets regularly came from the Kurumbas, as also did some leaf umbrellas and sleeping mats made of split cane or reeds.

178 One duty a Kurumba may perform for Badagas under exceptional circumstances is to remedy illnesses that Badaga therapists have failed to cure. Certain Kurumbas become noted for their abilities to cure specific ailments, either by herbal medicine or by spells, and a Badaga sufferer may arrange for treatment by them through the Kurumba watchman (Thurston, 1912, 233; Hockings, 1979b). Fees or costly presents would have to be given for this favour.

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Kurumba headman should notify the Kota headman that they will be playing at a certain Badaga village; and the Badaga inviting them should first get permission from the Kota headman to do so.[22] This set of rules is no longer followed since the feelings of Kota headmen are not respected now that Badaga/Kota relations have in general been broken off.

Until the 1930s when the institution of commune watchman began to lose currency, the Kurumba got a quarter rupee each month for every pair of oxen in the commune, or more often its equivalent in grain.[23] At harvest time he would also receive the same sum or else six litres of new grain collected from the villagers by the headman's assistant. In addition he and his family would be fed whenever in the commune.[24] The Kurumba could also rely on Badagas to satisfy all of his clothing needs, for which purpose the headman would first collect grain from the villagers with which to purchase the cloth by barter from the visiting Chetti trader. An early claim (Harkness, 1832, 109, note) that the commune Kurumba could inherit a Badaga's estate when there were no traceable heirs has never been recorded since and would not be possible today.

When a Kurumba watchman dies the headman of the Badaga commune should collect some gifts from the villagers and take them, or have them sent, to the bereaved family. This used to be imperative to secure the goodwill of the family from which the next watchman would also be drawn.

In the pre-British days the Kurumba watchmen got their only salt and crude sugar from Badagas who made annual expeditions to the plains for such needs. These had largely ceased by 1825.

BADAGAS AND IRULAS

The only Badagas having any regular contact with Irulas are those near Ha:sanu:ru and those living in the eastern sector of the Nilgiris. In this latter area Badagas probably—and erroneously—treat the Irulas as a section of the Kurumba tribe, and hence their interrelationship approximates that between Badagas and Kurumbas elsewhere on the plateau.

One of the highest mountains (1788 m.) in that particular area is Rangasa:mi Peak (Metz, 1864, 65–66; Nicholson, 1898, 426–427; Noble, 1976, 124), important in Nilgiri culture because it is crowned by a Vaishnavite shrine (actually two megalithic circles of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

their Nilgiri acquisitions for further produce to take up to the hills.

According to modern Badaga informants their forebears did not use cash at the Ootacamund market during the first two decades of its existence. They exchanged the products of their own lands for the foodstuffs brought up by Chettis. In this way the Nilgiri Plateau was exporting a variety of goods to Ka:ramuḍu and its environs, especially clarified butter, onions, honey, coriander, opium and millet hay.

The initial period of barter in the bazaar passed as the town acquired a few regular shops. Later in the nineteenth century coinage came into use in the market, now open every day, and a government superintendent fixed the day's prices (Ouchterlony, 1848, 72; Price, 1908, 187). One could even borrow money there at 2 or 3% per month interest (depending on the security). Monday and Tuesday in Ootacamund, Thursday in Sirumuge, Friday in Ka:ramuḍu and Saturday in Me:ṯṯupa:ḷaya are however still called 'shandy days',[21] and it is still customary for Badagas to visit the Nilgiri towns on Monday, their weekly holiday, and to send truckloads of farm produce to Me:ṯṯupa:ḷaya or to Ka:ramuḍu each Friday. The transition to exclusive use of coinage in the market took a very long time, for as recently as 1924 Gaymard was able to remark that when they made their weekly trips to town some Badagas did not carry a purse but instead a basket or sackful of grain which they would exchange there for salt, pimentos, utensils and cloth (Gaymard, 1924, 2–3).

ITINERANT TRADERS ON THE PLATEAU

Both before and after these town bazaars were established the Badagas maintained another kind of link with the lowland economy. Chettis from villages lying directly east of the Nilgiris used to (and still do) come up onto the plateau once a month on foot for petty trading. Badagas call them Regional Chettis *(na:ḍu cetti)*, in reference perhaps to the restricted range of each man's trading itinerary. Although living in a Tamil-speaking area their native tongue is Kannada. Their settlements in and near the towns of Sirumuge, Me:ṯṯupa:ḷaya and Ka:ramuḍu are concerned with petty trade, weaving and agriculture. The Chetti and his family weave cloth in their home for the Badagas; and until the advent of the Ootacamund bazaar they were the regular source for cloth

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

are available for the total area under crop by Badagas.[14] In the case of the administrative 'village' of Sholur nevertheless good data (McIver & Stokes, 1883; Benson, 1884; Arputhanathan, 1953, 43; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 3–4) allow a realistic comparison with the recent situation (see Table 1). This 'village' (actually a commune) may be considered typical of Badaga settlements and has hardly changed its official boundaries since the Land Settlement of 1884.[15]

Table 1. *Sholur (So:lu:ru) 'Village': eighty years of agricultural change*

Total 'village' area, 1884	9113 hectares
Total 'village' area, 1961	9111 ha.
Registered *patta* lands, 1884	913 ha., all held by Badagas
Registered *patta* lands, 1962	1619 ha., nearly all held by Badagas
Number of *pattas*, 1884	49 single registrations, 63 joint ones (i.e., total of 112 *pattas)*
Number of *pattas*, 1962	372 in total
Population, 1881	1772, all communities, in 384 houses
Population, 1961	8518, all communities, in 930 houses
Estimate of cropped area, 1880–1881	749 ha.
Estimate of cropped area, 1962	607 ha.

From Table 1 evidence of several important shifts emerges:

A. In eighty years the population increased fivefold.

B. In eighty years the size of households doubled, from an average of 4.61 to an average of 9.15.[16]

C. In eighty years the number of registered land holdings *(pattas)* more than tripled.

D. In eighty years the area of *patta* land doubled through release of government-held reserves (but was not all cropped).

E. Fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place.

F. The estimate of the total cultivated area in 1962 was a little below that for 1880–1881.

G. Average cultivated area has thus dropped from 0.42 ha. per capita in 1881 to 0.07 ha. per capita around 1961; in other words, only one-sixth as much cropped land is being used as there was in 1881 for each person.

We may conclude from the recent situation at Sholur (So:lu:ru)

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

178 433 that agricultural production is hardly managed more efficiently today than it was nearly a century ago and that food production cannot have kept pace there with the vast increase in population.

241 Major changes in crop emphasis from the late 1800s to the present are best revealed by statistics [relating mainly to] Badaga cultivation. In 1875 there were 15,728 acres of Italian millet, 4,662 acres of little millet, 3,761 acres of barley, 3,430 acres of finger millet, 3,199 acres of wheat, only 754 acres of potatoes, 355 acres of mustard, 169 acres of vegetables, 144 acres of fenugreek, 67 acres of horse gram. . . , and 66 acres of poppies grown on the Nilgiris (Grigg *et al.* 1880: xii). In 1895 Italian millet was still the leading crop, but potato acreage had (656) risen to 2,032 acres. Poppies outlawed by the 1878 Opium Act were no longer grown (Benson 1895: 432–433). Little millet had become the most cultivated cereal in 1905, and finger millet was growing in importance (Francis 1908: 164). . . In 1914 there were about 4,000 acres with potatoes on the Nilgiris, but by 1920 potato acreage had doubled (Rao and Azariah 1953: 69). Before 1925 finger and little millets became the two important cereal crops, and remained the leading cereals from that time (Wood 1927: 210–223). Potato acreage has continually increased: by 1938 there were 12,000 acres, by 1950 almost 17,000 acres, and in 1960–61 there was a total of 20,600 acres in the main season and 2,400 acres in the lesser (Rao and Azariah 1953: 69; Krishnamurthi 1953: 193) . . . (Noble, 1968, 133–134).

178 241 Some official figures can be presented[17] to further illustrate the shift in importance of various crops on the entire plateau from 1905 to 1940 (see Table 2). These figures (which come from two distinct sources—Francis, 1908, 164; Madras 1949, 976), show the percentage of the total cultivated area devoted to each crop.

It may be noticed that while the figures for each *taluk* in 1905–1906 total 100%, those for 1940–1941 exceed 100%. This discrepancy reflects one important change in the thirty-five year period: mixed cropping became a fairly common practice. Thus two crops represented in Table 2 by separate figures would sometimes be growing simultaneously on the same piece of land.

There were very slight changes in the crop pattern for wheat, barley, finger millet and spices. A small area of pulses appeared only in the later figures (though pulses had in fact been grown in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

178
241

Table 2. *The Nilgiri Plateau: Cropping change, 1905-1940*[a]

	Percentage of total cropped area			
	Coonoor Taluk (Poraṅga:ḍu and Me:kuna:ḍu)		*Ootacamund Taluk (Todana:ḍu and Kundena:ḍu)*	
	1905-1906	*1940-1941*	*1905-1906*	*1940-1941*
Mainly subsistence crops:				
Wheat	1.7%	2.8%	2.9%	3.3%
Barley	5.1%	2.7%	3.4%	4.2%
Finger millet	1.5%	1.9%	7.1%	4.5%
Slender millet	14.7%	6.3%	4.3%	6.2%
Other grains	13.1%	0.7%	27.8%	1.1%
Pulses	—	1.9%	—	0.5%
Cash crops:				
Vegetables (mainly potato) and fruits	5.2% (potato: 4.8%)	18.6% (potato: 3.2%)	3.9% —	30.3% —
Spices, condiments	0.3%	0.7%	0.9%	1.1%
Coffee	44.6%	25.6%	18.1%	15.8%
Tea	7.7%	42.7%	12.8%	32.3%
Cinchona	1.1%	0.8%	10.9%	4.0%
Miscellaneous 'industrial plants'	4.7%	5.9%	7.9%	6.6%

[a]All percentages are based on acreage.

the nineteenth century). As malaria became less of a problem and cures other than quinine appeared in India cinchona decreased in importance, but this was mainly on British-owned plantations. Miscellaneous 'industrial' plants, primarily eucalyptus, maintained a stable acreage. These slight fluctuations tell us very little, but others are much greater and more illuminating. The various millets lost much of their significance for Badagas even though these had previously been among their traditional staples. The land was planted with potatoes instead—especially after the start of the First World War. There were about 1600 hectares under potato cultivation on the plateau in 1914, and as we have seen by 1920 this figure had doubled (Hanumantha Rao & Azariah, 1953, 69). In the thirty-five year period spanned by Table 2 potatoes, together with some other quite minor vegetables, increased their (433) acreage some five- or six-fold. Badagas did not eat much potato: clearly they sacrificed most of the acreage traditionally devoted to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

staple grains to grow marketable vegetables for cash instead.[18] Whether their diet had improved is not clear. By the Second World War a mere 3% of the entire Nilgiri population subsisted primarily on millets; the other 97% depended on purchased rice (Krishnaswami, 1947, 464). Coffee was not a successful crop in most parts of the plateau, and much of that plantation land was later given over to tea. This, together with the development of Badaga tea plantations from about 1925 onward, accounts for the great increase in tea acreage over the thirty-five year period covered in Table 2 (Ranga, 1934, 18–22).

The plantation crops called for more expertise than Badagas could usually muster and so were mostly confined to European land-holdings; even so, some Badagas were growing tea and a little coffee in the late 1920s (Ranga, 1934, 2). But potato was relatively easy to cultivate, especially as a government farm in the district helped them with seed, fertilizers and technical advice. During the past fifty years some of the more enterprising Badagas (mainly those able to obtain financial credit) have successfully cultivated tea and coffee on estates both large and small, though this was initially a ruse of theirs to increase the value of their land before selling it to Europeans.[19]

Chemical fertilizers were first used sporadically in the early 1920s; before that only cow-dung and human refuse had been available (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 44; Grigg, 1880, 468; Ranga, 1934, 14). These chemicals led to much higher yields in the European vegetable crops and helped confirm the belief that growing food for the market was a profitable occupation. Improved seeds, notably potato, and insecticides were also adopted by the Badagas (Nambiar, 1965, 23), who were 'always willing to test any new method of cultivation, or new crops brought to their notice by the Nilgiri Horticultural Society' (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 76, quoting from *Pioneer*, 4 Oct. 1907).

The adoption of fertilizer, insecticide and good seed was soon followed by construction of more terraces on some of the sloping fields. Progress in terracing, however, was much slower than the adoption of other innovations because it demanded a greater capital outlay than many farmers could afford; and most did not possess more than a quarter-hectare of land. Even today some cultivated slopes that badly need terracing because of soil erosion remain unterraced. It is worth noting that in the past several decades the situation has much improved because of the state

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

452 426 Central Bank; and the fourth runs the Marketing Society (Thorner, 1964, 71–73).

426 The law today limits the monthly interest on pawned items to a rate varying from ¾% to 1½%, depending on the size of the loan. Even so, loans between Badagas now command an interest rate of 1% to 4% per month; while the professional money-lenders also secretly charge interest beyond what they are entitled to. On a loan of up to Rs. 200, for example, the Marwari lender can legally charge only 1½% per month simple interest. He gives a receipt for that rate but at the same time insists on one year's interest in advance, and compounded, at 2% per month. One can hardly castigate the Marwari for his cupidity, or the Badaga for still patronizing him, however, when one learns the scale of bribes which some local government officials expect in return for granting loans from the cooperative bank.

452 (426) Yet the cooperative movement has gone a long way towards protecting Badagas from the high interest rates of private money-lenders; the Panchayat Unions and some multi-purpose societies even help farmers by supplying fertilizers, insecticides and modern equipment at cost prices. If these societies operate somewhat more effectively here than in other parts of India, the explanation lies in the fact that the Badaga societies are not in practice multi-caste institutions. They are run largely by and for the members of this one community, thus avoiding some of the factionalism and favouritism that commonly pervade such societies elsewhere.

MODERN SYSTEMS OF MARKETING

● 178 (966) With the spread of urbanization during the mid-nineteenth century, other markets besides that at Ootacamund began to cater to the needs of local villagers. Regular weekly markets opened at Coonoor, Kotagiri, Wellington, and later in several villages at some distance from any town.[21] The use of these markets by the Badagas is related to two other developments discussed earlier: first, the payment of land revenues and the restriction on use of land caused by the Land Settlement and legislation to stop swidden farming in the forests; and secondly, the consequent movement of some Badaga labourers, including women and children, onto the tea and coffee plantations, where they earned a

651 654 434

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

(651) (654) (434) cash wage (Grigg, 1880, 34, 471; see above, pp. 149, 152).

Greatly increased contact with markets and with Europeans provided the impetus towards full participation in the cash economy, yet this transition took a century to complete. For the 178 vast majority the basic requirements of food, goods and services continued to be provided either by their own efforts or by their [177] Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. The itinerant Chetti trader continued to make monthly visits, as he still does. From 1825 onwards Badagas could visit local markets on the plateau for what they had previously bought in Guṇḍulupe:te and Ka:ramuḍu, but they never sold very much in the markets and thus rarely had (442) spare cash to spend. In the early days of cash-crop farming very few Badagas had enough knowledge or personal contacts to arrange the bulk sale of their produce in a distant market. They used to sell their crops instead to a broker in the Nilgiris, until it became known that a farmer who could find a market and negotiate a sale by himself would make bigger profits. An important motivation was the desire to acquire consumer goods that were now becoming available on a scale and in a variety (342) never before known to the Badagas. Later in the nineteenth century there is evidence of increasing affluence which found expression in the shift from thatched to tiled rooves. '... in 1871 only 1,914 houses out of the 13,922 in the district were tiled; whereas now [1908] tiles are the rule ... in Badaga villages' (Francis, 1908, 130, compare Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 58; (432) Grigg, 1880, 29, 225; 'Geofry', 1881, 132). For the farming family engaged in marketing their crops, cash was necessarily the only medium of exchange, and much of their foodstuffs had to be (291) bought in the town bazaar. A great variety of items was also being purchased, the most obvious of which were new clothes: in the 1890s men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930s women started to wear coloured *sa:ris* (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 58, 90; Hockings, 1979a).

We may say that their commitment to the cash economy was complete by about 1930, in which year most Badagas permanently severed their traditional exchange relationship with the Kotas. This from the Badaga point of view was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas commanded, and without delays. While the Kotas had not been receiving cash, the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming

increasingly valuable to the Badagas because of rising grain prices (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

For many Badagas with small land-holdings the transitional period between the two World Wars was marked by the frustrations of indebtedness. Pieces of their land were sometimes sold to non-Badagas in order to pay off outstanding debts—a previously inconceivable practice. Some men went as far as the Annamalai Hills for manual labouring. Badaga debtors did, however, work hard to produce profitable cash crops or at least to buy back some of their former lands (Thurston, 1909, vol. 1, 64; Ranga, 1934, 4; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249).

With the First World War, major changes in their marketing practices became apparent. Tea, coffee and cinchona, like potato, presuppose a market beyond the Nilgiris, which in turn presupposes adequate transportation. The crucial demand for vegetables to feed the numerous European troops in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon stimulated the change in crops documented above (see Table 2). Similar conditions arose again in the Second World War and prompted many more Badagas to try commercial farming. On each occasion cultivators took the risk of exporting potatoes and other vegetables to new and remote markets, and some made handsome profits (Francis, 1908, 167). The risks in this enterprise were real, for men could recall occasions when floods broke the road or rail connections or the goods reached their destination only after market prices had fallen heavily. The rewards of potato cultivation were, however, of critical importance in lifting the yoke of indebtedness: during World War II the British made a great deal of capital available to Badaga farmers, as part of the 'Grow More Food' campaign. This finance and the profits from selling their highly priced potatoes did more than any cooperative loan facility to relieve the indebtedness that Badagas had been suffering under for several decades.

While tea and coffee yield a higher profit per hectare than potatoes or grains, they are more susceptible to disease than the millets and require greater agricultural skill than all other Nilgiri crops if they are to attain the standards required by wholesale purchasing agents. Moreover they need to be produced in large enough quantity to warrant the processing and transportation to Bombay (since 1940, to Cochin). Middlemen, both Badagas and others, were therefore indispensable to the few Badaga tea and coffee growers of the 1920s and 1930s. Middlemen could act as a

2: Hockings E-4,5 — (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

control on quality and could bring together sufficient produce to make a transaction with an exporter worthwhile. As more and more Badagas became interested in growing cash crops, middlemen appeared not only to buy up small quantities of tea, coffee and potato but also to sell seed, fertilizer and even some insurance.

After Independence profiteering by the middlemen was largely checked by the Nilgiri Cooperative Marketing Society set up with state government aid (Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249). Today there are nearly two hundred cooperative societies in the Nilgiris which pool the resources of members and also supply cheap fertilizer. Many such societies own local tea-processing factories and warehouses and are dominated by Badagas. After 1957 heavy loss through potato disease caused a widespread shift to tea or coffee growing,[22] and in the 1970s large acreages have been devoted to growing a sturdy new German variety of cabbage which finds markets nation-wide. Both tea and cabbage are quite successful crops. The availability of help from the Central Cooperative Bank made these unexpected switches in crops possible, for otherwise the initial capital outlay and the small size of most estates would have rendered the new venture unfeasible. Several cottage industries have also helped diversify the rural economy over the past thirty years; in particular beekeeping, liquor distilling, milk sales, knitting and embroidery have provided new, regular sources of income for many hundreds of Badaga families.

The early twentieth century saw the rise not only of wealthy Badaga land-owners but also of large-scale labour contractors. A few men profitted by getting the contracts for gangs to dig pits for planting tea-cuttings, pick coffee-beans, build roads or construct public buildings in the district.[23] Less wealthy Badagas set themselves up as small shopkeepers, tailors or money-lenders or found work in a wide variety of urban trades.[24] Whenever possible the more resourceful reinvested their profits in land (Ranga, 1934, 10), either tea and coffee estates or farm plots formerly belonging to Kotas (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240). The other reinvestment commonly made was in college education for their sons. With the economy fully monetized the stress was now on providing stability for the coming generations.

MODERN EMPLOYMENT

Prior to World War I virtually all Badagas were cultivators, and

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

463 the great majority still are today. For them the family has always been the basic unit of production. As much as five months of the
592 year are spent non-productively (Ranga, 1934, 9–10), but during the other months every member of the family, even a child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy. Adults work in the fields and are helped by boys and girls when necessary
(462) (Harkness, 1832, 114–115). Men do the heavier work, such as forking, ploughing or clearing stones, and women the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward, 1821, lxx, lxxiii; Jagor, 1876, 201–202; Ranga, 1934, 8; Noble, 1968, 143–148). As well as their field-work women are responsible for cooking and for
(883) all the housekeeping, including the laundry.[25] Adolescent boys work as cowherds; girls take care of babies whose mothers are in
(850) the fields (Harkness, 1832, 113). Children also do the initial preparation of meals before the women return home each day.
(887) People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village (Jagor, 1876, 194).

463 This pattern has been modified somewhat by a trend among the more educated men to work away from the village. At first a few
• (178) were employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and labourers, and throughout the district as primary school teachers.[26] During the First World War some young men began
(464) working in the munitions factory near Wellington (it still employs many Badagas). Then, in the 1920s, the first Badagas attended
(871) university and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians—M.P.s and M.L.A.s—many of whom are from one extended family whose fortune was initially established by labour contraction (see Diagram 9, p. 179). More numerous today are the doctors and lawyers. Other Badagas who though less well-educated no longer follow their traditional occupation include school-teachers, government officials, bus drivers, contractors and factory workers.

496 A correlate of this move towards the towns has been the breakdown of customary labouring methods. There were two kinds
(478) of cooperative labour: in one a number of families (usually from one lineage) would pool their labour to farm an area and then would divide up the produce proportionately; in the other, several families would work for a particular farmer but have no share in his produce: he in turn would help them with their cultivation. For

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

a large landowner this latter system was quite efficient and profitable, even though he had to feed those who were working in his fields and was also obliged to give them a big feast on the last day of their field-work *(kambuwa)* which enhanced social solidarity. These two techniques of co-operative labour also benefitted the landless, for they could thereby share in the harvest of someone else or at least be more regularly fed.

In the early decades of this century immigrant Kanarese and Tamilians, some of them the creditors of Badaga farmers, began to buy up former Badaga land and farm it with the help of labourers, both poor Badagas and immigrants. It was probably this trend which led those who worked on Badaga farms to expect payment in cash rather than a share of the harvest or a mutual exchange of labour. Those patterns of co-operation have passed away. The educated would now rather remain unemployed than work in a neighbour's field, and with the transition to cash-crop farming most feel it is not worth helping someone else reap his profit. Things were different when co-operative farming helped put food into the village's granary baskets.

Among rural Badagas the old order has not been replaced by a class society. We can only identify a land-owning class, a tenant class and a labouring class in the larger rural society which embraces other communities as well. The land-owners who are Badagas generally prefer Tamilian or Kanarese tenants, as it is easier to lay down stiff terms for rental and to become stern when such non-Badagas fail to pay the rent after an unsuccessful season. Badaga tenants have too many ways of pressuring their landlord into overlooking their inability to pay rent on time. The agricultural labourers are normally lowland immigrants, too. It is considered somewhat demeaning for Badagas to take on such work, especially under a Badaga proprietor. Social classes are thus not yet to be found among Badaga villagers, and the three main social categories in farming are seen by Badagas as occupational and caste differences.

The present range of occupations of both Badagas and other rural communities is suggested by Table 3, derived from a rough sample of adolescent and adult males aged 15 to 85. Clearly farm work is still the most prevalent activity, but now a substantial proportion of men in the rural population are working in occupations (categories V to IX) that typify participation in a monetary economy.[27]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

463

Table 3. *Occupations of the interviewed males, 1963*

		Rural Badagas	*All other Nilgiri rural communities*
I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%	30.7%
II	Agricultural labourer	5.0%	32.3%
III	Forestry and livestock	0.0%	7.4%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%	5.8%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%	1.6%
VI	Construction	4.0%	2.6%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%	6.9%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%	4.2%
IX	Teaching and 'professions'	13.0%	5.3%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%	3.2%
		(*n*=301)	(*n*=189)

178 184 182 619 [621]

The 1970s find an increasing number of young, college-educated Badagas settling in towns with their wives and taking well-paid jobs. These people still observe community endogamy, but in other respects their behaviour suggests that the distinctive identity of the Badaga community is nearing its end. It is no longer uncommon for urban Badagas to address rural Badagas in Tamil rather than their own language: ashamed of the state government's designation of their people as a 'Backward Class',[28] they are trying to merge with the South Indian city society and deny what they consider an 'uncivilized' parentage. Few such people regularly visit their native villages now. Once marriage with non-Badagas increases and becomes acceptable the palisade around their community will have fallen.

NOTES

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1. Even though there was no tax-farmer on the plateau to harrass them until 1807; Buchanan, 1807, vol. II, 247.

175 179

2. Harkness, 1832, 138, note; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 17; Grigg, 1880, 455–456; Francis, 1908, 167; Price, 1908, 23; Hockings, 1973, 867. According to Metz, 1864, 5, Sullivan came to the Nilgiris 'at the solicitation of the hill-people themselves'. Sullivan, in a letter to the Board of Revenue in 1819, explained that 'the inhabitants are extremely anxious to have their lands measured, under an idea that they are paying more than they ought to do'; Grigg, 1880, 280. Another early influence on Badaga farming may have been the experimental farm for European crops operating at Ke:ṭi from 1830 to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

was mostly in steep rocky places ill-suited to any cultivation.)

14. Grigg, 1880, 321, mentions there were 29,912 acres (12,105 ha.) of farming land on the plateau in 1862–1863 but considers this 'a fictitious number'. Fifteen years earlier Ouchterlony had estimated that the Badagas alone used 12,750 ha.; Grigg, 1880, 13.

15. It is 19 km. by road from Ootacamund and embraces the Badaga commune of So:lu:ru.

16. That Sholur was not atypical in this respect is suggested by the fact that in 1867 the average number of persons per Badaga household for the entire district was 4.36; Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 61.

17. Land utilization figures for the entire district, 1905–1960, in Nambiar (1965), do not isolate the role of Badaga agriculture.

18. Ranga, 1934, 68. As early as 1908 Francis (p. 167) noted: 'Potatoes are much exported to Ceylon, the Straits [Malaya] and Burma . . .' It was in 1908 that the railway connecting Ootacamund with the plains was completed.

19. Ranga, 1934, 14–15, 18–22. 'In fact many planters advance money to Badagas to enable them to dig pits and plant tea . . . with the intention of being able to purchase that land'; Ranga, 1934, 15.

20. Merchants also granted credit for purchase of daily needs—at much inflated prices; Ranga, 1934, 73–74; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249. Such traders are an excellent example of Simmel's 'resident stranger', whose presence catalyses a peasant economy by affording credit; Simmel, 1923, 509–512.

21. De:vaso:le, Kolekombe, Se:las, Gudalu:ru, Manju:ru, Ki:kotagiri, Neḍugula, and Naduvatta; Baikie, 1857, 38, 88; Grigg, 1880, 471.

22. Nambiar, 1965, 23. The first time this problem beset Badaga farmers was in 1880; B.E.M.S., 1880, no. 41, 37; Grigg, 1880; 134.

23. Ranga, 1934, 7–9. Badaga contractors had been involved in such work since the mid-nineteenth century; McPherson, 1870, 21.

24. Natesa Sastri, 1892, 753; Francis, 1908, 129; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 63; Ranga, 1934, 8; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 248. These jobs included builders, blacksmiths, brickmakers, carpenters, clerks, domestic servants, painters, gardeners, washermen, teachers, printers, forest guards, tailors, barbers, water-carriers, stone-breakers, rickshaw-pullers, and even coolies and scavengers.

25. Jagor, 1876, 201–202; unlike most Hindus the Badagas do not employ washermen.

26. These were mainly Christians.

27. The categories are taken from the 1961 *Census of India*.

28. The designation is not recent; Francis, 1908, 265. On the Backward Classes generally, see Béteille, 1969, 87–145. Very recently the Nilgiri Hill Tribe Badaga Welfare Association was formed to promote government action in classifying Badagas as Scheduled Tribe, which would have material advantages for the community.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

681 The preceding was never a fixed scale of punishments but rather a guide to how an offender would be treated in those times, 'all else being equal'. In each case the punishment could be mitigated according to the circumstances of the crime and the identity of the criminal. A poor man would be fined less than one of the gentry; and any man might plead poverty or haggle with the council to have his fine reduced. This is equally true today.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

178 657 Since the start of the last century Badagas were ruled indirectly by the British but contact with them had very little effect in the early years. The Badagas avoided the British legal system and its officers, and their own customary system continued to operate effectively until the end of the century when they subtly adapted their legal thinking to avail themselves of the Imperial system as well.

622 632 657 (631) Village government under the British régime perpetuated the existing hereditary headmen, some of whom received the title of *manegar*. The hierarchy of headmen did not enter into the British scheme for local government however; *manegars* were typically *u:r gaudas*, headmen at the commune level. In the earliest days the British deemed it enough for a *manegar* to be a member of the gentry respected by the Badagas; but by the end of the nineteenth century the role of headman had been split: a *manegar* was appointed in the main communes by the District Collector,[11] while the Badagas still selected their own headmen at both the village and the commune levels.[12] The appointed *manegar* was preferably a literate man, and no longer merely someone with prestige (624) (Grigg, 1880, 366). In addition the British appointed an accountant, the *karnam*, to keep village records. Both of these roles,[13] held by Badagas responsible to an outside authority, were new to Nilgiri society and were not honoured in the spirit expected by the British 622 administration. Grigg, the Collector in 1880, noted with perhaps some exaggeration that

> The vaguest notion of their duties as village magistrate or police officer prevails among the headmen. So far from their understanding that it is their duty to repress such crime, they seem to regard it almost as a sacred duty not only to countenance and

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

shield the wrong-doers, but even to aid in the perpetration (Grigg, 1880, 411; Francis, 1908, 295).

The power and influence of the *manegar* was vastly greater in the last century than it now is: '... when he visited any village within his jurisdiction, the monegar had the privilege of having the best women or maids of the place to share his cot according to his choice'.[14] Girls were only one kind of bribe that might secretly be used to secure his sympathies: clothes and feasting were much commoner. The autocracy of these local officials is well illustrated by 'stories ... of a Monegar of one village who ordered an individual who had disobeyed his orders to be covered with a slab of stone' (Natesa Sastri, 1892, 831–832).

Just as alien as the British notion of a headman's role was the idea of electing a council; and yet a supposedly elected *panchayat*[15] became the official organ of local government shortly after the First World War. (Its duties today are to provide certain facilities, notably the up-keep of roads and paths, water supply, community radio, maintenance of land records and birth and death registers, and the supply of information about governmental activity.) Despite the appearance of village *panchayats* and of a state police force in some villages, the organization of celebrations and the settlement of disputes have remained very much in the hands of the traditional headman, his festival committee and his council. Criminal cases should be reported to the police and are usually handled in a lawcourt, but civil and petty criminal cases can either be settled by the village council or by an official *panchayat* court.[16]

This multiplicity of procedures exposes the Badagas to three different legal systems: their own indigenous one, still influential in establishing precedents; the present-day Badaga village council which settles disputes according to a majority opinion (an opinion voiced, however, by the headman and modified by the knowledge that the case may then be taken, together with the decision, before a court of law); and finally the increasingly popular hierarchy of government law courts.

THE PRESENT AMBILEGAL SITUATION

With such a confusion of courts, officials, regulations and legal options, how does a Badaga choose which medium to use? The prime consideration is apparently not the seriousness of the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

French-supported film factory and a protein products factory, supposedly to improve farm productivity and employ the pool of Badaga graduates.

MODERN LAWS

Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the modernization of Indian society have affected the Badagas very little, and these we need review only briefly.

The Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856, had no particular effect on Badagas since there was never any interdict against remarriage of their widows. The Hindu Women's Right to Property Act, 1937, has always been ignored by Badagas, and the women have never challenged their traditional treatment: the property is only inherited by males. Nor does the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, receive due recognition from Badagas: marriages are still not always monogamous and are sometimes contracted with grooms below eighteen or brides below fifteen. Kotas and lowland Harijans, although supposedly protected by the Untouchability (Offences) Act, 1955, are never allowed into Badaga temples and are normally served with separate 'untouchable' glasses when they drink at a village teashop. People in Nilgiri villages may not be ignorant of such legislation, but there certainly remains some resistance to the idea of integrating the official system of law and administration into Badaga culture. Even more resistance can be found among the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas.

NOTES

1. Meaning, respectively, Toda division, Western division, Europeans' division (from *ferangi*, 'Franks') and peak division (from Tamil *kunru*, 'mount'). Why one division should have been named after Europeans is not clear, unless it be a reference to seventeenth-century Jesuits who may have entered this area from Sattiyamaṅgaḷa and Me:ḷḷupa:ḷaya, where they were then active; Société des Missions-étrangères, 1933, vol. xii, 234-235. The name is certainly ancient. Grigg, 1880, 13, n. 1, and Macleane, 1893, 678, derive this name however from Tamil *periya Raṅga*, 'great god Raṅga,' who is worshipped in this area; see above, p. 127. Throughout the nineteenth century these territorial divisions were adopted by British administrators, but in 1882 they were superceded by the three *taluks* (Gudalur, Ootacamund, Coonoor) that are still recognized today.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

sorcerer killed by Badagas and Todas, after three sudden deaths in a Badaga headman's family.

1884 Conclusion of Final Land Settlement (1881–1884). Drought in Nilgiris, followed by crop failure.

1887 Some smallpox; school attendance decreased following a series of conversions. Kurumba shot by a Badaga whose wife he had bewitched.

1889 First mission school opened in Kundena:ḍu, at Bikkaṭṭi, by request of 'a friendly Badaga'.

1890–1910 'Bible women' (South Indian Christians) active in trying to convert Badaga women; very little success.

1891 Massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1897 Opium-eating noted to be on the increase. Factions formed among Ha:ruvas over who should have precedence in walking over fire at their Mahaliṅga festival.

1900 Typhoid epidemic and famine among Badagas; earthquake in Nilgiris; massacre of Kurumbas by Badagas.

1901 Conversion of Kereha:da headman's daughter; attempt to isolate the Badagas of that area from the rest of their community.

1902–1903 Epidemic of plague among Badagas.

1904 Police used to suppress Badaga persecution of a new group of converts; after this date there was no further physical harrassment of Christians.

1904–1905 Plague among Badagas.

1906 Minor earthquake in the Nilgiris; houses shook. Much higher rate of intoxication than in previous years. By now about eight hundred protestant converts.

The cut-off date of 1906 in this skeleton history is somewhat arbitrary; nevertheless it is clear that the misfortunes that dogged the Badagas became considerably less frequent after this date. In 1907 the converts were having factional disputes amongst themselves.

FACTORS LEADING TO STRESS

Biographical material in publications of the Basel Evangelical Lutheran Mission and in the minutes of the Ke:ti parish for the

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

121 population is converted and control of the communication networks is won, thus achieving the goals of the movement and drastically reducing the symptoms of anomie; (6) the movement changes from being an innovative to being a routinization and maintenance force.

We recognize that Wallace's impressionistic concepts of steady state and social equilibrium leave the reader in serious doubt about how to identify these conditions. If, however, we assume Badaga society was in a 'steady state' prior to the impact of the British (an assumption predicated on our ignorance of the society before the early nineteenth century!); then a phase of cultural 'distortion' had arisen by the middle of the century as the Badagas became increasingly uncertain about their future. Ecological change induced by the new land laws, epidemic diseases, acculturation and some subordination to the ruling caste all produced stressful effects on the social system of the Badagas. Some alcoholism and opium addiction followed as well as the sporadic attacking of opposite factional groups, both Hindu and Christian, within the community.

The stage was thus set for a revitalization movement, but what came along?—the cult of Irabattaraya. This cult was formulated by someone, perhaps a Moslem non-Badaga, around 1865, and word of it was spread to many Badaga villages by disciples and gossips. Followers by the hundred made a pilgrimage to where the god was supposedly residing; and after this the cult collapsed in disillusionment. It appears that no one of sufficient charisma had arisen to fuse Badaga sentiments in this particular cult; nor had it proved possible to institute an on-going movement in support of the cult and its anti-European goals. This cult had all the makings of a revitalization movement but failed for want of leadership. It is nonetheless worth noting that the following ten years were marked by no disturbances of any kind among the Badagas.

121 794 If an inability to become routinized was a mark of the Irabattaraya cult it was even more true of the earlier syncretic cult of Jesus Christ, as well as of the temple rebuilding fervour. Indeed no Hindu religious activity in the nineteenth century successfully revitalized this community; the Badagas recall no great charismatic leaders from their recent past (except perhaps the late H.B. Ari Gowder).

121 178 Yet a new 'equilibrium' was achieved by the early years of the present century; or at least the stress became much less acute. The

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Hindu Badaga community continued to exist as a distinct, mainly endogamous group, with its own characteristic language and culture, and beside it there emerged a Christian community. What had happened to relieve the tensions that we have documented? Several features of the changing social condition can be mentioned here as a partial answer.

Accommodation of the Christian Community

After the final outburst of protest in 1904 the Hindus were no longer openly antagonistic to every new conversion (B.E.M.S., 1904, no. 65, 68–69). The community of Christian Badagas was by then so large, so influential with the Europeans, so well schooled and thus so powerful that it could no longer be threatened and attacked with impunity. The Badaga Christians came to be regarded as a caste, separate and inferior to the Badaga Hindus. Having thus been assigned a position in the social organization of the Nilgiris the Christians no longer posed such a serious question about the continuance of Badaga society. After the expulsion of German missionaries in 1914, the Basel Mission on the Nilgiris passed into the hands of the less evangelistic Wesleyan Mission. A stable family and economy were so encouraged among the Christians that they became something of a reference model for the remainder of the Badaga community in these respects. The first schoolteachers, the first government clerks, the first college graduates, the first factory workers and even the first published writers among the Badagas were Christian.

Major Factions Became Permanent

Like the division between Christians and Hindus, and another between Lingayats approving of marriages with Kanarese girls and those opposed to it, the factional division between Ha:ruvas and those who did not acknowledge their claims to Brahminic status became a persistent feature of Badaga social organization. Even today every lineage belongs to one or the other of these factions. We might wonder whether the rapid increase in the Badaga population over the past century has led to a growing awareness of impersonality in the community, which this and later factional splits have counteracted by 'dismissing' large sectors of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

the society as unfit for interaction. If the population of the undivided Badaga community in 1871 was just under twenty thousand, then there has scarcely been any growth in *scale* when we consider that today this would still be about the order of people with whom a Badaga could potentially interact *within* one of the several factions which divide the current community of over a hundred thousand (cf. Appendix 2, p. 249).

Health Improvements and Economic Growth

The hazards of famine and epidemic disease which confronted Badagas in the nineteenth century have posed less of a problem in the twentieth. The young generation has never known starvation. Standards of health have much improved and public health facilities, especially mass inoculations, have decimated the earlier scourges. Even the modern practice of piping water into the villages has caused a vast improvement in health (Grigg, 1880, 185, n. 2; Hockings, 1979b, 10–15).

The development of a mixed cash-crop farming economy and slight industrialization from the time of the First World War have been crucial factors in the improvement of Badaga living conditions. While there are still many families that are landless or very poor, the opportunities for earning cash are so much wider than they were a century ago that general famine is not a severe or recurrent threat any more.

Education, too, has broadened the Badagas' view of society and is now very popular with them. As early as 1887 it was noted that they had themselves built six schools out of village funds.[20]

The community thus managed to overcome the social and economic difficulties which, if not ameliorated, have often triggered some kind of revitalization movement.[21] There was no successful revitalization among the Badagas even though several small and localized cults showed some potential. Instead the people were able to survive their period of frustration, accept the existence of a separate Christian community and shift from subsistence to a cash-crop economy that allowed them to improve their standard of living significantly even though the ratio of people to farm-land was rapidly increasing. Thus we can say that while the society is in no sense static today it has managed to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

reduce its tensions and achieve something like a 'steady state' based on a cash-crop economy and the institutionalization of certain social divisions which were the major cleavages during the time of troubles in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

NOTES

1. More recently one Badaga was converted to Islam and was being trained to proselytize that faith on the Nilgiris; B.E.M.S., 1901, no. 62, 96.
2. Thus two days after the first Badaga conversion, the missionary wrote: 'I went with Abraham into the coffee plantation yesterday in order to present him to his master as a Christian and to ensure his work as a plantation supervisor there'; trans. from Mörike, 1858, 93. Basel Mission (1905) contains full details of the frequent loans, made against pledges of land.
3. Grigg, 1880, 421–422: B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 104. The old mission house, still in use, was built by Lord Elphinstone for his residence in 1840; Grigg, 1880, 458; Macleane, 1893, 403; Francis, 1908, 331.
4. Metz, 1864, 55, reflected: 'Challenged to perform a similar miracle . . . I replied that a much greater wonder than that, was, that I should not cease to love such squalied fellows as they were; and that too, in spite of all the abuse they daily heaped upon me'; compare B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 45; 1853, no. 13, 39.
5. B.E.M.S., 1849, no. 9, 44; 1863, no. 23, 50–51; Metz, 1864, 8–9, 56; Grigg, 1880, 424–425; Stokes, 1882; 177; B.E.M.S., 1887, no. 48, 98. By 1864 boys could earn three to five rupees monthly on coffee plantations; this, and the usual parents' contention that 'they have become old without knowing [how] to read or to write and could do their work as well as their forefathers', explain the initial unpopularity of schools; Metz, 1864, 9, note; compare Grigg, 1880, 425.
6. Ke:ti was by no means the first Badaga village with a school. One had been established at De:na:du in 1820 or 1821 and another at Ku:kalu around 1830; Ward, 1821, lxx; Harkness, 1832, 69–70; Hayavadana Rao, 1908, 113.
7. Eppler, 1900, 306–307; in these years there were respectively 69, 497 and 967 students. See B.E.M.S., 1886, no. 47, 88; 1887, no. 48, 98. In 1904–1905 there were 39 Badaga schools with 1222 pupils; Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64.
8. The epidemic of 1863 was attributed to Jesus, 'because the missionary had but lately been preaching that not a hair, not a bird, can fall to the ground without his [Jesus'] express will and his sovereign command'; Reclus, 1891, 238.
9. B.E.M.S., 1877, no. 38, 15. At this same period, the Revd. Stokes claimed that most of the converts 'embraced the Christian religion from conviction and not from unworthy motives, as is very often the case in the plains where large numbers are gathered in'; B.E.M.S., 1873, no. 34, 32, and Grigg, 1880, 422.
10. B.E.M.S., 1900, no. 61, 110; such a shift in attitudes was not confined to one village.
11. B.E.M.S., 1883, no. 44, 80. It must be remembered the Badagas were then rather ignorant of Hindu scriptures; B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 73.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

177 population, illegal hunting and poisoning of carnivors, and the
771 great extension in the area of tea estates, predatory tigers and
(796) other large animals have become so rare on the plateau that there seems little need to propitiate Be:da Sa:mi.

177 Lingayats, over the past century at least, have taken up the
771 worship of gods other than Shiva. The non-Lingayat Badagas have also adopted new gods, mostly Sanskritic deities related to
776 Shiva, such as his sons Gaṇapati and Subramaṇia, and also Aiyappan. A parochialization of the great Hindu tradition is evinced in the temple established at Tu:raṭṭi for a stone brought there from Benares, or the silver image of Subramaṇia brought to a Ka:ṭe:ri temple from Benares, or the 'footprint of Ra:ma' on a rock at Mañjakombe.

BAJAN AND KRISHNA WORSHIP

178 These styles of worship are new to the Badagas, who are Shaivites
795 (Krishna and Ra:ma are Vaishnavite deities) (Karl, 1945, 5). The performance of *bajan* (group hymns) began amongst them some
(533) thirty years ago, and so popular has it become that nearly every
(534) village has one or more sets of *bajan* instruments and holds a weekly performance of the sacred songs. These are hymns mostly in praise of the Lord Krishna; they are played on the instruments of Tamilnad, not of the Nilgiris, and the words are Tamil, not
(346) Badagu. Many villages have built a *bajan* house specifically for these devotional evenings; it is owned by the village in common
(353) and is considered a kind of temple. Inside are lithographic prints of Krishna and other gods and perhaps an image to which *pu:ja* is performed during the course of the devotions. Once a year donations are solicited from every household in the village for support of the *bajan* singing group. Not every villager is interested in this form of worship, but its popularity is clearly increasing, especially among the youths who regard it as a modern, urban form of worship. The rising interest in *bajan* has been noted elsewhere in South India (Singer, 1959, 148–149).

TAMILIAN AND KANARESE CELEBRATIONS

177 Heavy immigration to the hills, together with greatly improved communications with the plains to the north and east, especially

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

the frequent and cheap bus services, explain in part the proliferation of alien religious practices among Badagas during this century. Among the Wainad Gaudas there has been a comparable influence from Malabar to the west, an effect of heavy immigration from that direction.

Over the past fifty years a variety of memorial ceremonies has been instituted for the anniversaries of individual deaths; previously there had no been no such commemoration. A few corpses or their ashes have been buried at places beyond the village burial grounds, and stones have been raised to mark such spots or memorial statues erected. Here the closer relatives may perform an annual *pu:ja*; or they may do *pu:ja* at home before a photograph of the deceased. Some families invite more distant relatives to the ceremony; others do not but may distribute food to the indigent. Some have the ceremony in the daytime, others at night. Some will go straight to work after the *pu:ja*, others never work on that solemn day. In short, the scale and form of a memorial ceremony vary from family to family, but the general pattern reflects Tamilian influence.

As well as the new death ceremonies, several annual festivals have been adopted from the neighbouring plains people with varying degrees of enthusiasm and support. Over the past forty to sixty years Di:pa:vali, Ka:rttige and Ma:rgaźi have come from Tamilnad into many villages (just as the Ma:ri festival did a century ago), and Dassara, long the biggest celebration in Mysore City, has also been adopted; all of them in very attenuated form.[1]

Dipa:vali, the day on which the mythical Ra:ma was crowned after his return from Ceylon, is given very little importance. A minority of Badagas wear new dresses for the occasion but otherwise do not have so much as a *pu:ja* in honour of Ra:ma or Krishna.

Kartige extends over three days in November or December, but only the first day, dedicated to Shiva, assumes any importance. All the houses display lights throughout the night, and the priest does a *pu:ja* at the village temple, attended by most villagers. On the third day, dedicated to Vishnu, very few lights remain burning.

Dassara is also celebrated on a small scale compared with the major Badaga festivals at sowing- and harvest-time. It is universally supposed to last for ten days at the end of September, but only on the evening of the ninth do Badagas hold any celebration, and this a simple *pu:ja* to images or lithographs of gods that are kept in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

20 rupees' (Ward, 1821, lxxi); and then 'on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees' (Harkness, 1832, 42); by 1867 it was Rs. 80;[2] early in this century it was about Rs. 100;[3] in the 1930s and 1940s it was more often Rs. 150 (Ranga, 1934, 3); today it is usually about Rs. 200 (Moses, 1964, 4) but may go as high as Rs. 500 among the wealthy or as low as Rs. 50 in a poor village.

Though *honnu* is still paid, a gift from the girl's family has become common in recent marriages. Some older men, especially those with marriageable daughters, attribute the expectation of such a present to the avarice of modern youth, but the general reason for the development is that young men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth and in their own potentiality to earn than was true of earlier generations. Previously the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, may sometimes be willing to offer thousands of rupees if his daughter can marry into another affluent family. Such a gift is not a dowry, for it is not agreed to as a condition of marriage and is not handed over with any ceremony. It is, however, deemed appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, which promises secure support and enhanced status for the girl. Several hundred Badaga men have now (1975) earned college degrees whereas few girls have. The preponderant choice of groom is thus between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated men, and one method of ensuring the girl's marriage with a college graduate is the payment of what one elder described as a 'bribe'. While not an old Badaga custom it is now becoming somewhat fashionable.[4]

The traditional preference is for marriage with a cross-cousin, whom a youth commonly finds in the same village into which his sister has married. This is still the normal choice: either he marries his sister's husband's sister (a cross-cousin) or else a related neighbour of that husband. The intrusion of a demand for a substantial present into this reciprocal exchange between two clans and two villages can be an unpleasant shift away from custom: two families, lineages or villages which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance that proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks a financial settlement it may rupture this stability, as such a gift will imply social inequality between the contracting parties. Offering a financial inducement

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

intra-commune or intra-village factional disputes of which no record exists; small inter-family feuds were undoubtedly common; but there were only two factional divisions of Nilgiri-wide scope, one separating Hindus from Christians, and one disputing the relative superiority of Wodeas and Ha:ruvas (see above, pp. 203–204). During the twentieth century these divisions have remained and others have developed alongside them.

The Wodea/Ha:ruva dispute was intensified by another conflict in 1930 which quickly assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions (Benbow, 1930, 11, 13). It concerned the question of whether it was dignified to dance around a corpse to Kota music during a Badaga funeral (see Plate 8; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). Those who supported the Ha:ruva claim to superiority wanted to continue the use of Kota music; those opposed to the Ha:ruva faction and to the use of Ha:ruva priests were equally opposed to this music. The latter, who formed the majority faction, felt that such music was an indignity to both mourners and Kotas, and that dancing was an indignity to the dead since it was an expression of joy and therefore inappropriate, un-Hindu, and 'uncivilized' in this context. Those who wanted to continue the dancing, a conservative minority, stressed that it had been an integral and time-honoured element in Badaga culture and that to discontinue it would be to dishonour and even jeopardize the deceased with an incomplete funeral. The new-found opposition to what had always been an essential part of mortuary ritual arose indirectly from contact with Tamilian culture and a consequent shift in Badaga cultural orientations, and found its leaders in the first Badaga M.L.C. and his father. Today most Badagas no longer invite Kotas to play either at funerals or at weddings and festivals, and most of their economic connections have also been severed in an attempt to increase the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbours (Emeneau, 1938, 104–105; Mandelbaum, 1960, 302–303). In dropping the practice of dancing at funerals while adopting anniversary ceremonies for the dead and such festivals as Ma:rgaźi, Ka:rttige and Di:pa:vali, many Badagas are now striving for upward mobility by taking the model and assuming the conduct of orthodox Shaivite Hindus. The younger Kotas meanwhile show no interest in playing funeral music or otherwise underpinning the old Badaga culture. They, too, have their handful of graduates and well-to-do families who are looking for a better style of life than that they used to know.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Catholic priests became very active—mainly in converting Protestant Badagas—and thereby split the Christians into two culturally similar but structurally opposed groups, each maintaining a self-righteous and antagonistic stance not only towards the other Christian Church but also towards all Hindus.[8] By 1924 there were about a thousand Protestants and a hundred Roman Catholics (Société des missions-étrangères, 1924, vol. III, 466).

Since around 1935 an American couple, Pastor and Mrs. E.D. Willmott, succeeded in converting a few dozen Badagas—again mainly from the Protestants—to the Seventh Day Adventist Church; today some two hundred Badagas are members. Otherwise there has been little change in the balance between Catholics and Protestants, who were almost equal in number by 1947. After national Independence, although Badagas continued to become Adventists, the conversion of Hindus to the two major Christian sects virtually ceased, as did most conversion of Protestants to Roman Catholicism. Some recent conversions were engineered by a Catholic priest (a European) who was able to provide imported clothing, houses, CARE food packets and some land to new converts.

A recent count found 2093 Badaga Christians, of all denominations (Moses, 1964, 35). While there are still points of disagreement between members of the two main sects (pre-eminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Hindus and Christians in general, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing living conditions. There are now indications in casual conversation that Badagas are adapting their orientations to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity, one linking all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for instance, are willing to admit that the Christians set them a good example—an allusion to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and 'progressive' treatment of their womenfolk that are admired in some Christians and that make them a westernizing model for other Badagas (Ranga, 1934, 5–6). The Badaga community is now usually called a caste, and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as Badagas, a group for which the state government shows particular concern and beneficence by treating as a 'Backward Class'.[9] Thus the chances of material betterment through wider employment opportunities which a century ago prompted a few Badagas to change their

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

attitudes sufficiently to become Christians now prompt people to alter other orientations not allied to religious values but rather to a secular government and its new ranking of employment and educational priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility, but in that process conversion to Christianity has become an anachronistic mechanism.

NEW PATTERNS OF COMMUNICATION

The idea of communication embraces the physical facilities of road and rail transport, postal and telegraph services, as well as the mass media of radio, film and newspaper, and the channels for communication between individuals within a local setting. We shall review briefly how these have changed in recent decades.

Transportation

Steady improvements in transport have helped the production and sale of cash crops. In the last century all goods had to be carried up or down the Nilgiri escarpment by coolies, on horseback or in bullock carts.[10] Faced with such restrictions Badagas were unable to export produce to other parts of India (Grigg, 1880, 480). Then in 1899 a railway was completed from Coimbatore to Coonoor (a remarkable engineering achievement), and by 1908 it reached to Ootacamund. Its construction involved Badaga contractors and labourers, giving some their first experience of earning regular wages. When the 1914–1918 War began there was thus a quick means of exporting vegetables to all parts of India and even beyond.

During the years between the two wars trucks became common in the district, and roads were improved to accommodate them. A few Badagas who became middlemen bought lorries to improve their business. At the same time a bus service began, and in the years since World War II the network of bus routes has become so complex that there is now scarcely any Badaga village more than five kilometres from a bus route leading to a town. Seventy routes are travelled within the district, some by several competing companies.[11]

The Impact of Towns

The availability of such a profusion of buses has helped the

21 Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Badagas in more matters than marketing. They are now able to go to town frequently—typically once a week—and their children can attend high school or even college without losing much contact with the home. (Ootacamund has two colleges and Coonoor another, all three affiliated with Madras University.) Literacy and newspapers in Tamil have spread, too, in part because of the easy transportation system. The literacy rate is now seemingly higher in the rural Nilgiri Plateau than in Madras City: in 1963, 78% of adult Badaga males and 52% of females were literate, while in 1961 70% of Madras City males and 48% of females were literate.[12] Even old Badagas are often quite familiar with daily news stories, weather forecasts and even some political predictions (cf. Hockings, 1965 a, *passim*).

The cheap railway and bus services have made visits to the great pilgrimage centres of South India possible for thousands: the famous temples at Cape Comorin, Madurai, Palni, Tirupati and Tanjore now receive Badagas almost daily. Nor must we overlook the business trip: increasingly farmers as well as traders find it worth visiting cities when they have a harvest to sell or bulk supplies to purchase.

The modern cities and great pilgrimage centres can have two different types of psychological effect: a city shows the Badaga visitor profusions of consumer goods, among them new household devices, radios, watches, bicycles and cameras, as well as interesting foods, cloths and ornaments; the pilgrimage centre, on the other hand, stresses ties with the mythical past of South India, with the gods represented in the temples, with priestly authority and with the grand history of the temples themselves. It is an important distinction: the man who goes to a distant temple may come home with his attention focussed on the past and on separation of the self from worldly matters, whereas the man coming from a business trip may be full of a desire to buy some implement he has seen or try out a new skill or save money so that his son may attend college in the city.[13] This distinction between the conservative and the modernizing effects of travel is to some extent paralleled in the choice between mythical and modern film themes or between religious and secular magazines. Not all contact with the cities necessarily introduces people to modern ways of life; not all who patronize radio, films or periodicals are drinking at a source of non-traditional knowledge, for though the media may be modern the villager discriminates in what he derives from them.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Film-Going Habits

In the eyes of many Badagas one of the greatest benefits of the bus system is that it permits frequent trips to cinemas in the towns. Most families now see films often, and what they see has a great impact on them. Some of the most popular films are dramatizations of Indian history or of epic stories which reinforce traditional ideas about Hinduism and the nature of the universe. But equally popular are the films about modern life, about social problems like divorce, widow remarriage, 'love' marriages and intercasts marriage; dramas which are presented against a background of affluence that is unfamiliar yet fascinating to the villager. These modern themes extol city life, non-traditional marriage practices and luxury goods such as cameras, watches, radios, mechanical toys and sports cars. The impact of these films is already clear: younger Badagas yearn for watches, motorcycles, and all the other paraphernalia they have come to associate with modern urban life.

Radio

Among the most commonly desired gadgets are transistor radios, which are appreciated partly as a source of light music and partly as a prestige symbol. Only the wealthier Badagas own radios, but every village has at least one set, either owned privately or provided by the government; many teashops also have radios. All-India Radio presents much government propaganda, especially talks directed towards improvement of farming and village co-operatives. These broadcasts—in the Tamil language—are not very much listened to, because the vast majority of village radios are constantly tuned to light music coming from the commercial Radio Ceylon. In a sample of 420 Badaga men and women in 1963, 17% said they never listened, 16% only heard music, 38% heard news as well as music, 14% listened specifically for news broadcasts and only 2% mentioned informative talks as being of interest to them.[14] The higher the incidence of *regular* listening, the higher the popularity of news broadcasts, two variables correlated no doubt with the length of time a village has been electrified.

Newspapers

My survey on the use of the media in 1963 showed that radio is

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

themselves are the women's work-groups, small cliques of village wives who work together in the fields and elsewhere, exchanging gossip and favours in the process. These female networks link up with the male ones through the wives of influential men (cf. Plate 10).

The sequence of contacts that have to be made if someone in the village is to influence or be influenced by people in the above list constitutes an intra-village network.

Inter-Village Networks

Two kinds of network fall under this heading, one linking agnates, the second affines. The first are ritual and juridical networks, linking up with distantly related men in other villages of the commune. This commune was first settled, it is claimed, by a man who founded the maximal lineage to which nearly all of the inhabitants belong. Hulla:ḍa people mostly belong to one of the three major lineages, this one established by Koṅga Hetappa, one of the commune founder's three sons. Within Hulla:ḍa and a nearby village (Ke:ti) the lineage is further divided into four minimal lineages, each descended from one of Koṅga Etappa's four sons. The more important festivals are celebrated in common by all sixteen villages in the commune, using ritual personnel from any of these villages. Serious problems are discussed by all the village headmen at the commune council. Hulla:ḍa villagers can establish contact with the wealthiest and most influential men in the commune by activating these two networks, either through a village headman or through a friend who has helped in the rituals.

Secondly, the marriage and visiting networks link Hulla:ḍa with villages beyond this commune. Marriages account for a network of social contacts with nearly two dozen other villages, and these are frequently activated by informal visits and by attendance at the festivals, weddings and funerals of affines. Small loans may be sought along these networks (Hockings, in press).

Inter-Tribal Networks

The Badagas of Hulla:ḍa were linked for certain economic and ritual purposes with particular Kotas, Todas, Kurumbas and Chettis. For the most part these associations have fallen into

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

178 abeyance, but until about 1930 they did follow the pattern detailed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Village-and-Town Networks

631 These more modern networks may roughly be classed as either formal or informal. Formal ties are those that use the recognized channels of local government. Information about personal or legal problems may sometimes be obtained from the *panchayat* office in the next village. A clerk in that office, which is an organ of the state government, will either supply information himself or direct the enquirer to a government office in town (where he will possibly be sent to yet other offices!).

591 The informal ties between town and village make use of Badaga friends and relatives who work, study or live in the towns, or connect with non-Badagas living in the towns who know where to get information or how to solve a problem. Informal networks are often used by villagers when the formal ones do not resolve a difficulty: this is probably true of many communication systems (Frank, 1958–1959, *passim*).

THE POSITION OF BADAGAS IN NILGIRI SOCIETY

178 The customary interdependence between the Badagas and other groups is so complex and yet so loose that it has changed to varying extents in different parts of the plateau during this century. Some Badagas are much more dependent than others on the cash economy and usually try to avoid the burden of old obligations. The potentialities of a labour market, nearness of bus routes to town, aboriginal residence patterns and the relative proximity of tribal settlements have all been important in determining the extent to which the Badagas of each village have dropped their traditional ties with the indigenous tribes.

178 184 Thus, to cite one example, Badagas of the Kundena:ḍu region tend to be more conservative in outlook than other Badagas: they still invite a Kota band to play at their ceremonies and in other ways keep up their ties with the nearby Kota village. Elsewhere in the Nilgiris the great majority of Badagas eschew contact with Kotas as they now consider it demeaning. A modern Badaga who

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

wants to be regarded as an orthodox Shaivite would not wish to attend a funeral where Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the (once) carrion-eating Kotas (Breeks, 1873, 42; Grigg, 1880, 205, 479; Mandelbaum, 1960, 274) become 'Untouchables' in the new terminology, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a funeral. The new orientation—for a man who is now more a Hindu citizen and less a Nilgiri peasant—seems appropriate to a Badaga who finds himself competing for jobs or official favours with people from all over southern India. The relatively conservative Badagas of Kundena:du, on the other hand, are among the wealthiest villagers in the district, as nearly all of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This source of profit and employment is apparently so secure that these people do not feel themselves in serious competition for positions with men from elsewhere. Their confidence in the future allows them to continue at least their ceremonial links with the local Kotas. Few tools are now made by those Kotas, however, for the great quantity of specialized metal items including machinery needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in towns, and furthermore these particular Kotas are preoccupied with their own tea estates. Both Kotas and Badagas here activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits: where the required tool is too complicated for a blacksmith to make, where the market has the same item at a lower price or where one's labour can be more profitably spent on plantation work than on some customary obligation, the traditional links fall into abeyance (Mandelbaum, 1955, 240).

Similar adaptations to the expanding cash economy may be seen in other aspects of the traditional intercommunity relations. Few Todas, to mention another example, now take the trouble to make their annual rounds of Badaga villages in search of their customary dues: Todas feel this smacks of beggary, while most Badagas would find reasons for not giving anything. Badagas for their part never request the Todas to come and take their gifts and only rarely may seek out a Toda friend when a special requirement can be obtained only from him.

In a survey made in 1963 it was found that 33% of Badaga respondents no longer had any contact with or attitude towards the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas; and the younger they were, the more alienated they felt from these tribes. Nevertheless many more respondents in all age groups disliked the Kurumbas than disliked

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Todas or Kotas: the old fear of witchcraft lingers on. In the middle age-group of the sample (35 to 54 years) there was a significant correlation[15] between dislike of Kurumbas and a feeling that the world in general is a dangerous and evil place—an interesting confirmation of our earlier assertion that witchcraft accusations against Kurumbas have in the past been associated with general feelings of insecurity and stress (see above, pp. 200–201).

In general Badagas feel little compunction to maintain an association that is clearly not economically feasible. Among the indigenous peoples they are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new orientations, which help them secure a place in the national economy and society at the expense of their traditional position in Nilgiri society. While Kotas, Kurumbas and even some Todas are adopting the Badagas as a model, Badagas are following urban Tamilians and Christians in valuing the products of modern technology, seeking monetary profit, good education and a westernizing life-style they think acceptable in a modern urban context.

CHANGING SOCIAL STRUCTURE

We have already commented on changing patterns of marriage and residence and will now examine how the position of the gentry and the roles of the individual have altered with recent changes in the social structure. The central idea in this discussion is that social structure can usefully be defined as a system of linked network-clusters and that the status of a villager is determined by his position in these clusters.

The distinction between gentry[16] and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all families can be assigned to one category or the other by those who know them. Perhaps five per cent of the community is now considered as gentry. Until the mid-nineteenth century the most prestigious family of gentry was the largest family possible. This was often achieved through polygynous marriages; in one case in the 1950s, probably a record for Badagas, a wealthy but infertile man had five wives simultaneously. In these families men were often several decades older than their wives; I know of a case where the husband was over 90 when the youngest of his three wives was 26. Polygyny, however, is no longer common.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

554 generality and have different relevance depending upon circumstances. An individual's position on each of these contrasts constitutes a role, entailing certain well-recognized expectations of behaviour on appropriate occasions.

182 554 How does a social system fragmented by cross-cutting divisions keep from falling apart into small splinter groups? The answer lies with the interaction patterns which are indicative of social cohesion, which mark out the clusters of networks and which counteract the long-standing factional disputes. Four major types of public reciprocity, of which the first is the most widespread, hold together the people separated by these cleavages: (1) public discussions; (2) the exchange of women in marriage; (3) joint participation in ceremonial meals; and (4) the exchange of goods and services. All four are types of communication, and to operate as such they must depend on network clusters; in other words, reciprocity can only be maintained on a continuing basis when it activates a persisting social structure. Badagas do not offer their goods, their meals, their daughters or even their conversation in a haphazard way to *anybody*: the social structure, analysed by Badagas in terms of these dyadic contrasts, determines quite clearly who shall receive certain goods and services, who shall marry the daughters and so on. Not only is the pattern of reciprocity dictated by the social structure—by the positioning of network clusters—but it in turn gives coherence to that structure: there is a dialectical process in the integration of the society. If Badagas were to recognize the emergent socio-economic classes as a new criterion of social differentiation their communication networks, patterns of reciprocity and system of role allocation would all have to be drastically revised. At present they prefer to (178) think somewhat anachronistically in terms of their old social organization, for it provides a reassuring stability to present-day social relations.

156 183 Although the social system assigns an individual to certain positions from birth, however, he continuously adapts himself to what he perceives of the shifting organization of network-clusters. In these adaptations the individual has a certain amount of choice. It is clearly limited by what he considers to be the relevant expectations of his fellows; but cultural norms do not dictate role change so absolutely that a man is unable to exercise his personal preferences. Cultural orientations are used by a Badaga to bolster or direct his motivations in the pursuit of the valued ends of his

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

156 183 life. While he is busily making a living, gaining respect and maintaining status he apparently goes through a continuing process of re-evaluating these activities in the light of changing conditions and new information. Such re-evaluation takes the dual form of private thought or meditation and of informal public discussions about his clique, their friends, and their various attitudes to life. So important is this re-evaluation process that many men can be seen devoting a major part of their waking time to it. The womenfolk are equally concerned with re-evaluation through conversations, but are obliged to work physically at the same time (Harkness, 1832, 114; Metz, 1864, 98-99; Benbow, 1930, 3-5; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 247; Subrahmanyam, 1962, 5-6; see Plate 10). In such discussions Badagas experience the need to make manifest from time to time the norms by which their behaviour is guided. This process not only makes the norms explicit but reinforces their validity in most cases, too. At the same time ambiguous or anachronistic norms are subject to scrutiny and 121 then modification or total rejection. In view of this re-evaluation process it is no longer enough to know that a modern Badaga is a male of a certain age, from a certain village and phratry or of one particular category in their social system in order to predict how he will conduct himself in any given situation. We also need to understand the more transient social formations and networks with which he is associated, the social functions of these formations and networks, and also the manner in which their members are recruited. As I have observed on many occasions, the play of 178 elementary logic, of conflicting orientations, personalities and 521 proverbs, the relevance of everything said to everyone within earshot are all factors making for fascinating and valuable conversation among Badagas. Slowly yet dynamically their culture is changing, not simply through external programmes devised for the modernization of India, but consciously, indeed conscientiously, through this tedious and time-consuming procedure. Faced with the need to vote for a variety of parliamentary candidates, confronted with propaganda on the value of family planning or with another current topic, individuals discuss the issues, try to reach a consensus and then act accordingly.

184 178 Those cleavages in the social system across which conversation is not permissible are barriers to the free flow of communication, and on either side of these barriers variant orientations develop. To understand cultural change we should pay some attention to

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

this mechanism, for it is illuminating. The crucial factor here is the re-evaluation process, for conversations contributing to it take place separately for the different phratries and factions and for males and females. Children furthermore are intellectually equipped for only a very peripheral part in adult discussion. Over a period of years rather different adaptations to living conditions therefore tend to be worked out by each phratry or faction, by men and by women, by the successive generations This accounts for the most obvious subcultural variations within the community; and because children naturally grow into adults and replace the older generation in most roles, an on-going process of changing cultural adaptations is in evidence even though the model for thinking about social relations has remained remarkably stable for some generations.

NOTES

1. Benbow, 1930, 39-42. Other Tamilian festivals now celebrated by some Badagas are Pongal, Ma:ri Habba, Rangana:tan car festival, and the birthdays of various gods; Stokes, 1882, 173.
2. B.E.M.S., 1867, no. 28, 70. It did range as high as Rs. 150 or 200; see Metz, 1864, 99, and Grigg, 1880, 222.
3. But 'varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 200 . . .'; Natesa Sastri, 1892, 763; compare Tignous, 1911, 119, and Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 250.
4. Dowry may once have been a Badaga custom; Harkness, 1832, 41-42; Metz, 1864, 87. Even today Badagas should give their daughters upon marriage a present *(ado:li)* of at least one milking buffalo, one cow and one trained ploughing ox. If she is later divorced the gift is returned to her father.
5. The official claims that 'The vigilant working of the Prohibition department has made Prohibition a success in this district,' is farcical and is belied by lawcourt statistics; Madras, 1965, 23. It has merely provided a further concern for a burgeoning bureaucracy and another cottage industry for the landless. Most villages had at least one still in full-time production during the 1960s.
6. The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins and looked upon them as incursors from the north; yet 'In Madras the civil service and the professions were dominated almost completely by Brahmins . . .'; Béteille, 1969, 35, also 50-52, 164-168, 173-179.
7. Another village had three headmen recently when its anti-music faction divided into two groups over another matter; these two and the music faction each had a headman.
8. Tignous, 1911, 156; Illustrated Catholic Missions, 1916, vol. II, 8; Périé, 1933, *passim*. There had been some earlier Catholic conversions, the first in 1873 when Father J.M.J. Pottier had baptised a dying Badaga man in a village near Wellington. During the period 1892-1916 about a dozen families had been baptised by Fathers E.J.B. Foubert, M.-L. Robin, F.-F. Deniau, and J.-T. Gudin. Thereafter the pace of conversion increased.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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9. See above, pp. 166, 168. On the designation of Badagas as a caste, see Hockings, 1968 b, *passim*.

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10. Ward, 1821, lxv; see above, p. 142. Until 1878 the mails were carried by teams of runners; Grigg, 1880, 408.

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11. The district is unusually well endowed in this respect, for it is only the size of Warwickshire or Luxemburg and slightly smaller than Rhode Island State. From Ootacamund some of the major cities of South India are also served: Madurai, Salem, Mysore, Bangalore, Coimbatore, Palghat and Calicut (Kozhikode).

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12. India, 1962, 133; Moses, 1964, 33, found 73% of Badaga males and 50% of females literate ($N = 200$). My sample in 1963 was 420.

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13. There are a few who combine the business trip with a pilgrimage, but this is not usual.

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14. This purposive sample was drawn from 656 interviews in the district.

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15. $Chi^2 = 5.18$, $P < 0.03$. This middle-aged group had grown up during the slump which spanned the 1930s and which is reflected in the low food-grain prices of those years; see Madras, 1965, 37.

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16. *manetana*, literally 'house-stage' or 'house-level'; compare Kannada *manetana*, translated as 'household,' 'race, family' by Kittel, 1894, 1207, the connotation being a family of worthy people.

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17. Grigg, 1880, 366. These were village magistrates and clerks; see above, p. 172.

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18. These social distinctions have over a century of history. They are crystallized in various proverbs as well as being universally recognized normative concepts. One proverb, for example, runs: 'Though it is hot water it will extinguish fire.' This refers to group loyalties: though we may have a friendship with a man of another lineage, village, faction, phratry or community, we will take the side of our own group against his when the need arises. Other proverbs relate to particular social distinctions, e.g., between one village and another:

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'Even if he is headman of his own village, he is not superior to the son of the widow of the last house in another village.'

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'If you are not cunning, do not go to Jakkatala; if you are poor, do not go to Ke:ti.'

E.g., between phratries.

'If a crow makes a dropping on you it is a bad sign; if a Ha:ruva shouts at you it is a bad sign.'

E.g., between affines and agnates:

'If brothers curse each other, one can still build his house on his brother's threshold; if in-laws curse, leave and run away.'

'Though she is our sister, is her husband ours?' (In a later work I plan to analyse some 1300 Badaga proverbs).

[p. 238 is blank]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

school had been opened in De:na:du; yet it was only after 1856 that Badagas perceived some value in schooling. This value lay in Tamil literacy, which was slowly becoming the one sure passport to such coveted official positions as *karnam* and *manegar*.

During the 1860s and 1870s legislation put an end to shifting cultivation, cutting timber in the jungle and paying a light tax on undemarcated land holdings. No longer was there land available for everyone to clear and farm: those who could not pay the government land-tax became tenant small-holders, landless labourers or plantation workers. These successive blows to the customary farming practice, following hard upon the first Christian conversion (1858), fostered a half-century of mistrust of Europeans which the numerous epidemics, droughts, conversions, temple rebuildings and surveys of field ownership did nothing to dispel. Over this period land erosion became a serious problem, fields were inadequately manured and rarely terraced, much Badaga land was sold to European planters, and indebtedness became widespread. Only some villages near the towns achieved a measure of prosperity. Jakkatala, a prime case, sold much of its land to the government for the Wellington Barracks and then profitted further from contracts for gangs of labourers to build the barracks and some other public structures. By the turn of the century a few families had become very wealthy as contractors, some of them in building the railway to Ootacamund.

At the start of the twentieth century the Badaga population had climbed to 34,000 (having increased fifteen-fold in the preceding century), and the density of the rural labour force had also increased appreciably through continued immigration. Alongside this growth Grigg (1880, 321) had observed: '... each year has the area of cultivation and permanent occupation been extending with the growth in numbers of the hill-tribes [Badagas], the increase of wealth among them, and the great extension of plantations.'[2]

Although tea, coffee and potato had been grown in the district for over half a century, it was only with the onset of World War I and the completion of the Nilgiri railway that Badagas shifted the emphasis in their farming from millets to potato and in the 1920s to tea as well. This made many of them cash-crop farmers, since they did not eat much potato and had to buy their food-grains in the bazaar. Their initial interest in tea cultivation was merely as a 'method of increasing the value of land before selling it to European planters.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

By now the Badaga Christians were viewed as a separate caste, and the old antagonism over Christian conversion had given place to a new realism which accepted the British, tolerated their religion and sought to collaborate with them in the realms of commerce and administration. The periodic massacres of Kurumbas had also come to an end.

Land fragmentation and indebtedness continued to be problems for the twentieth-century farmer, but new techniques of commercial cultivation raised the per capita income appreciably. Chemical fertilizers and insecticides were now used, along with good seed and reputable tea cuttings. Money-lenders, middlemen and truckers all appeared on the scene to answer local needs. Most of the hillsides were terraced to permit efficient farming, and the emergence of co-operative societies from 1911 helped with this as well as with the more general problem of rural credit.

These new directions in the farm economy were fully in evidence by 1930, at which time most Badagas broke off their time-honoured exchange relationship with the Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas and began to seek the artifacts these tribesmen had made in town markets instead. The ostensible reasons for this break are several. Badagas usually mention the increasing cost of having a Kota band at their ceremonies; while Kotas mention an insulting article in a national newspaper of 1928, 'The Hindu', which implied that Kotas were descended from the unions of Todas with Badagas.[3] A glance at the population graph in Appendix 2, however, will make it clear that the over-riding reason for the break must have been the disproportionately large number of Badagas. By 1931 there were 42,500 of them, too many to be adequately supplied in the customary way by a few hundred Todas and Kotas.

The Second World War brought a further surge in the demand for potatoes to feed the European troops stationed throughout south and southeast Asia; at the same time government financing helped the growers, with the result that this new capital and the high prices potatoes were fetching greatly alleviated the former indebtedness of Badagas. After 1957 potato production fell sharply with a series of disease-ridden crops, and tea, first planted by Badagas some thirty years before, now became a popular cash-crop too. By 1970 cabbage had also become an important crop.

Modern Badagas enjoy a high standard of living, occupy comfortable tiled houses, send their sons to college, make frequent

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

trips to various South Indian cities, see numerous films and delight in mechanical devices. The minority who now live in the Nilgiri towns, among them numerous Christians, have taken on a variety of new urban jobs and are found in most of the professions. Few were involved in the Independence movement, fewer are under the influence of Gandhi's philosophy and fewer still understand or care for Marxism. The Communist vote is negligible, and the idea of revolutionary communism unappealing. For Badagas change means securing profit in a capitalist economy, adopting a westernized style of individualism and thus shifting away from ascribed status towards that which is achieved.

This transformation has come about while physical communications have been improving steadily. All the more populous villages are linked with the towns by regular bus services. Since the beginning of the century there has been a railway to the plains. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizer or buy potatoes have their own trucks; some large-scale tea planters have cars or jeeps. Radios are widely accessible now that the villages are electrified; yet radio is mainly a channel for light music and is not as important as the 'social' films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. Newspapers have a broad circulation in the villages and are much more effective than radios in transmitting news. Today, therefore, every Badaga village has easy access to information about the world beyond the Nilgiris, through seeing films, reading the papers or talking with friends and relatives who work in the towns.

SOME CONCLUSIONS ON MODERNIZATION

There is a multi-causal type of linkage in socio-cultural changes like those documented in this study: one single factor does not by itself cause a new situation, but several discernible factors combine to cause variant patterns of a new situation. We may state this process in another way. When a community moves from subsistence cultivation to rational participation (i.e., maximization of gains) in a cash economy, certain changes come about in the culture and the social organization. These are conditioned by a combination of local ecological factors, outside governmental activity, the availability of certain goods, services and entrepreneurial personnel, adequate flow of information, and the play of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

chance events or 'historical accidents'. Because the combination of all these conditions will vary from one region to another, the manner of the economic transition will also vary. We should therefore not expect a replication of the successive phases of the Badagas' development elsewhere in India, even though such people as the Coorgs may suggest a superficial parallel (see Muthanna, 1953, *passim*; Srinivas, 1965, *passim*).

The Badagas' transition to a cash economy depended in part on very favourable ecological conditions. Their land and the climate were well suited to the new crops, and for some decades it was even possible to extend the area of cultivation. A protectionist government fixed grain prices, provided roads and encouraged railway construction and even supplied Badagas with technical information and improved seeds. No external pressure was placed upon them to make the transition; yet some of the more affluent farmers living near towns took the chance with initial crops of marketable vegetables or grain to sell to the two breweries. Their decision found some reward and incentive in the profits from the local market; and with the advent of the railway and the First World War this expanded dramatically. Once some success in the market had brought these profits into the community, reinvestment and spending took a variety of forms. The Badaga economy became increasingly differentiated, there was considerable variation in wealth from one family to another, a class structure based on affluence began to emerge and most families sought to maximize their gains, even at the expense of their customary relations with the neighbouring tribes.

Though the details of their history are unique, there are some regularities that tie the Badaga case in with others; in particular, the modern stress on education, the desire for non-essential consumer goods, reinvestment of profits in land (Epstein, 1962, 326–328), the role of mass media in popularizing urban tastes (Rao, 1966), the replacement of traditional co-operative associations by market relations and co-operative societies, and the periodic restructuring of society through factional disputes.

NOTES

1. A survey was actually made in 1820; see above, p. 166, n. 2, and Hockings 1973, 869.
2. So also the Sanitary Commissioner, Dr. Cornish: 'I have no doubt the native

2: Hocking. E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

population is increasing, and that the position of the Badaga has materially improved. I notice especially the facts that they are now tiling their houses, that their women and children earn money on the tea and coffee estates, and that they buy rāgi and grain from the low country, and get a better market for their straw and cattle. They wear jewels of gold and silver, saved from their earnings'; quoted by Grigg, 1880, 34. This contrasts with the situation at the start of the British occupation of the hills, when the Badagas were so few in proportion to the land available that there was no need for crop rotation, as fields could be left fallow for years at a time; Mackworth, 1823, 124–126.

3. Emeneau, 1946, 265. Ranga, 1934, 4, reports that around 1930, 'In addition to this heavy expenditure upon funerals, more than three hundred Badagas cease work for more than two days and live at the expense of the relatives of the deceased or the people of the village. The expenses of a funeral incurred by all the Badagas in a hamlet come to more than Rs. 600. To add to this, their European employers lose their confidence in the ability of these people for regular service, since they cease work without giving any notice whatever . . .'; similarly Metz, 1864, 89–90.

[p. 246 is blank]

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
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salt being one of the few items that the hill people used to carry up from market towns on the plains during their annual trading expeditions.[5] We may perhaps infer that the salt-giving was already a ceremony from the tradition that the men in these parties who were carrying salt specifically to give to their buffaloes were supposed to keep themselves in a ritually pure state, and were not allowed to carry any other trade items at the same time. One man would therefore carry salt for a number of men in the trading party, and they in turn would carry his purchases. Salt intended for domestic use was never treated with such reverence. Once a market had been established in the new British hill town of Ootacamund, *ca.* 1825, these old trading expeditions fell into abeyance because the Badagas could then purchase salt without having to leave the hills.[6]

The annual ceremony of giving "new-grass salt," called *'ka:ruppu,* is performed separately by each hamlet in March of every year, on the Monday that falls within the eight days following the new moon. At about the time of the new moon itself one man is selected from every household in each hamlet to represent that family; generally the head of the family assumes the role, unless the purificatory preparations are too burdensome for him.

Early in the morning of the ceremony, after the house has been purified, each of these men goes out to his cattle shed and brings in the salt he has purchased. This coarse salt is then powdered in a mortar inside the house with a special iron bar supplied by the Kota craftsmen.

At the appropriate time the hamlet headman comes along each street calling out, "Are you ready?" Each celebrant then picks up his powdered salt in its basket[7] and stands near the doorway. At a signal from the headman, the man who represents the Great House (i.e., that of the hamlet's founding family) is the first to leave his doorway. He goes and stands on the village green, and all of the other men selected immediately come out and line up behind him. They then start off for the stream where the salt-feeding will take place. The man from the Great House stays in the lead. At some distance behind this party of celebrants other members of their families follow, driving the cattle or just coming along to watch; but no women can be present.

This group goes to the bank of a stream near the hamlet, carrying their baskets of salt, iron rods, pots, and hoes. Near the stream the man from the Great House digs a shallow, round hole with his hoe, two to three feet wide and a foot deep. The other men then follow suit, each using his own hoe to dig a hole for his own cattle. During the present century, however, the Badaga cattle herds have become much smaller than before, and so only one man from each lineage is usually selected to dig a pit for all the cattle belonging to that lineage. (Generally a Badaga hamlet is made up of three or four lineages, one at least of which is recognized as having descended from the hamlet founder.) After each of these pits has been dug, the loose dirt in it is brushed out with a branch of the *'hubbe* plant.[8]

The sun is now in the east, for it is still morning. When the pits have been dug, the man from the Great House takes a handful of salt from his

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

Kotas especially for this purpose. Sprigs from the branch are distributed, and every man places a small sprig on top of the salt that remains in his basket. A branch is also cut from the hill gooseberry and distributed in exactly the same way.

The celebrants now return to their homes, again led by the man from the Great House. Other male members of each family may follow this party, driving the buffaloes and carrying the hoes. Each man in the ceremonial party, however, has to carry his own potful of water, his iron rod, and his basket (which now contains a little salt, the two twigs mentioned, and also a remaining piece of the *'hubbe* that has otherwise been used as a brush). As the men walk they chant *"hau hau,"* an expression of their happiness. When they reach the hamlet they shout *"ki:i:hi,"* which means, "It is finished." Then the party splits up. Each member goes to his calves and gives them a taste of the salty water he has brought back. After that he is ready to enter his house.

There is still more ritual to be performed, however, for the man must enter his house in a prescribed way. As he comes toward the entrance, the oldest woman in the family stands just inside the inner room, leaning out through its doorway in such a way that she can also see through the entrance to the house. As soon as she sees the man coming across the front yard, she asks him three times in succession, "Have all the cattle drunk salt well?" He answers "Yes" each time. During this interchange the man continues walking but his pace is measured so that he will not enter the house until he has said "Yes" for the third time. On reaching the doorway he is careful to step auspiciously across the threshold with the right foot first.

Once inside the house he stands the iron rod against the wall near the door, and then puts the basket of salt on top of the hole in the floor where grain is usually crushed and where the salt was powdered earlier. The woman then comes from the inner room, takes the three sprigs from this basket, and hangs them from the ceiling of the outer room. She carries the basket to the inner room, which is a kitchen and dining room, and she uses up whatever salt remains in cooking a meal. During the whole performance of the salt-giving ceremony she should use no other salt than this. (Nowadays she has generally finished cooking by the time the man returns home, and so just adds a pinch of his salt to the prepared meal.)

The meal which is served at this time to the members of the household differs from ordinary morning meals in certain respects. The man who has represented the family in the salt-giving ceremony is served before everyone else; ordinarily this would only occur when no other adult male members of the family were present. Furthermore, he is served in the outer room of the house, although meals are otherwise eaten in the inner room, where they are cooked. He eats butter first of all; the rice and vegetable curry follow. Afterwards he must wash his hands in cold water; usually he washes in hot.

During the afternoon each of the celebrants carries his pot of water to the cattle pen and there pours it on the ground. Again the man from the

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

562 796 in each family acts out the ritual of inquiring after the cattle when the salt-giver returns home. Her questioning of him, her standing inside the kitchen, her hanging up of the three sprigs, her cooking with the special salt, and her feeding of this man before the others constitute a reaffirmation of her household role: she must keep the house tidy, cook the meals, and be solicitous of the man's needs and interests.

622 796 (554) The hamlet headman (who is normally one of the participants in the ceremony) yields precedence to the leader from the Great House on this occasion. The head of each Great House is a kind of priest, while the hamlet headman is essentially a secular official. The headman is responsible for whatever small arrangements are required in staging this ceremony. It is he who should send a message to the relevant Toda friends telling them when the ceremony will be held, and it is he who is responsible for deciding [554] when to begin the procession out of the hamlet. Normally a headman may wear a turban at all times, but on this particular occasion he wears no (576) turban, out of deference to the man from the Great House, the representative of the village's origin.

•178 648 The Todas are bound to Badagas by a very complex system of exchanges (Rivers 1906). In the days before a Nilgiri market was opened, the Badaga salt-giving ceremony was the major source for salt needed by the Toda tribe. Today the gift of salt to Todas is still a recognition by Badagas of the help the Todas extend them in various matters connected with herding.

796 648 Kotas, unlike Todas, are considered a polluting tribe, and consequently the Badagas do not invite them to attend this auspicious ceremony. Yet the ties that link Badagas with Kotas are even closer than those with the Todas, and at every point in the ceremony the help of Kota craftsmen is evident. The iron bar (*'ha:re*) with which salt is powdered is made by Kotas particularly for this use; the iron rod (*'uppu'kol*) carried to the stream—which now serves no utilitarian purpose—is made by Kotas; the pot used in the ceremony was traditionally a Kota product although nowadays metal vessels from the market are often used instead; the small knife (*'uppu 'katti*) used in cutting the branches still comes from the Kotas; the hoe and any other tools used in digging the pits are made by Kotas; and the pot in which the meal is finally cooked was traditionally theirs as well. The cattle shed and pen would also have been constructed initially with [178] Kota help. Today, consequent upon a rift in 1928 between the Kotas and most Badaga hamlets, there is much less insistence that Kota products be used in this ceremony, but up to that time such insistence was the rule.

796 In summary, the salt-giving ceremony is one in which each Badaga hamlet expresses its hope and expectations for the bounties that come in the form of cattle, harvest, children, the village society, wild Nilgiri vegetation, and relations with the Toda and Kota tribes. To have the maximum effect in promoting these benefits ceremonially, the participating men put themselves into a state of ritual purity and take great care that nothing inauspicious foil their purpose on this day.

121 796 We can explain the structure of the salt-giving ceremony by reference to certain principles underlying the structure of Badaga society. The per-

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

7. Called *'uppu kuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

8. The term *'kubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

In the course of the year almost every village celebrates a dozen or so festivals, the most important of which are concerned with the agricultural cycle: *doḍḍa habba*, the Great Festival, which marks the beginning of the agricultural year in November, and *de:va habba*, the God Festival, which celebrates the harvest in July. Another festival, called *Ma:ri habba*, intended to keep smallpox away, is celebrated in a few villages by fire-walking, when selected men walk unscathed across glowing embers. There are many other lesser ceremonies marking certain transitions in the lives of members of the community. For Badagas the major events of life are the naming of a child, its first haircut, the first milking of a cow, marriage, and death. On rare occasions some villages held a huge memorial ceremony in honour of a whole generation of the dead when its last member had passed away, but the ceremony was last performed in 1936. Yet many customs and celebrations of the Badagas are still observed today, in spite of dramatic changes which have affected other parts of their lives.

They are, for example, still led by a paramount chief whose position is hereditary and who always belongs to the village of Tu:ne:ri. (The latest chief was installed in 1977.) The political power devolves from this paramount chief to the headman of each village. In between them there are many local and regional headmen: several neighbouring villages make up a commune and, taking the name of the leading village, come under the authority of that village's headman. Above these there are also four regional chiefs who each control the villages and communes within their quarter of the Nilgiris.

Each headman has his own traditional council. A commune headman has the local village headmen in his council; a regional headman has the commune chiefs in his; and the paramount chief's council (which rarely meets) is composed of all the Badaga headmen. The judicial authority of all of these councils has been much diminished by the gradual imposition of Indian law and lawcourts. The traditional legal procedure for any dispute begins at the village level and then ascends through the various councils until finally an appeal may be considered by the paramount chief. In the past, headmen could impose severe punishments which ranged from ostracism to hanging, but today all criminal offences come under the authority of lawcourts, and village headmen and councils are left to deal only with minor disputes and ceremonial duties.

The Badagas are divided socially into a number of hierarchical

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

As an increasingly heavy work-load was placed on the therapists more women entered the craft; and more reliance was placed on Western medicine too. Today the scientific medicine of the public health department, and of government and mission hospitals, is making serious assaults on the faith that Badagas formerly had in their own herbal therapy, and is helping the population to expand at what must be considered an alarming rate (Diagram 1). The traditional therapy was adaptive, indeed crucial, for ancient Badagas trying to gain a foothold in a strange environ-

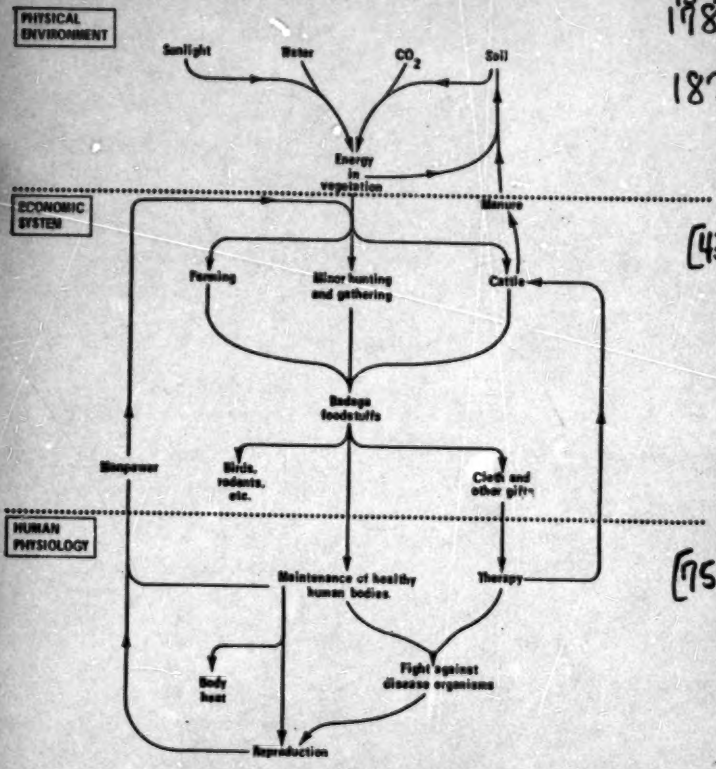

Diagram 2 : A simple model for energy flow in the Badaga ecological system

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

ment. Today that environment has changed so much socially, economically and intellectually that the old therapeutic system is becoming an anachronism. This change is not simply attributable to the fact that scientific medicine is viewed as "better" in any objective sense. The number of Badagas who die either in hospitals or after being brought home (often prematurely) from them is sufficient to bolster a suspicion to the contrary. Nonetheless scientific medicine has now become the medicine of the urban middle classes in the Nilgiris, many of whom are professionals and are taken as a positive reference group by the rest of the community in these matters. The most progressive of Badagas are already finding their place in the broader urban culture of modern South India; and in this context reliance on an antiquated, indigenous therapeutic system is seen by increasing numbers as an embarrassing reminder of the primitive past. Despite the greater cost that may be involved, many Badagas now patronize Badaga doctors with degrees in scientific medicine. Since these doctors are pillars of the local urban middle class, support of them may be seen as evidence of class emulation on the part of Badaga peasants.

1.9. The simple model shown in Diagram 2 indicates some major ecological relationships in Badaga culture, the basic flow of energy, and the role of therapy in helping maintain this system.

The etic reality of these energy relationships is indisputable: only a brief survey of the ethnographic descriptions of the Badagas would demonstrate this. Yet the Badagas' own point of view on the business of living colours these relationships with the particular characteristics of a particular culture, and the recording of that emic viewpoint is essential for a fuller understanding of the culture and its therapeutics. I find myself in agreement with Frake that one

> must discover those features of objects and events which they regard as significant for defining concepts, formulating propositions, and making decisions. This conception of an ethnography requires that the units by which the data of observation are segmented, ordered, and interrelated be delimited and defined according to contrasts inherent in the data themselves and not according to a priori notions of pertinent descriptive categories. (Frake 1962 : 54)

In line with this valuable prescription, I will present in this study an

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

759 462 [582] [59] Secondly, these treatments have descended through many generations of therapists in the different villages. What are the implications of this? Badaga villages are exogamous, and marriage is virilocal. When a woman becomes a therapist, who then is she likely to learn from? As we shall see with Sithamma, who was not atypical in this respect, she learns from her husband's mother, or from some other older woman who is married into his village. This must make for some confusion occasionally. Perhaps a small girl learns the identities of many plants around her natal village, and may even acquire some basic cures from her mother or other women living in that village; but she only begins formal training as a therapist *after* marriage, which means that she is then living elsewhere, being indoctrinated into a possibly different set of practices and identi-

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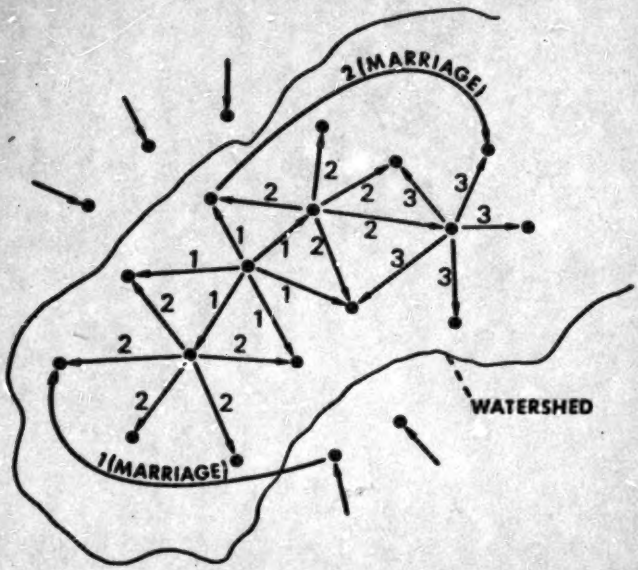

Diagram 3 : Schematic illustration of the spread of medical knowledge through some neighbouring Badaga villages during three professional lifetimes of therapists (ca. one century)

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

fications than those she had picked up as a girl. Yet the older therapist sees to it that a trainee cures according to the traditions of her husband's hamlet. The rule of virilocal residence means that each village which has a therapist tends to retain some idiosyncratic patterns of curing, and to transmit them more or less unchanged through succeeding generations in that village alone. We must remember that some three-quarters of all the therapists are female.

But what of the male therapists? They are patrilocal in residence and hence just accentuate the effect I have already described: they too transmit a curing pattern that has long been idiosyncratic in their own village (cf. 10.12). And since therapists are secretive about their knowledge anyway, and would not compare cures between one village and another as a rule, there is no basis for a common medical tradition in Badaga culture. Even the male specialists who attract clients from all over the Nilgiris tend to rely on secret spells and secret herbal remedies, so that their knowledge also remains solely in their own hamlets and occasionally may provide some subsidiary income for generations of a particular family. In fact, it should be clear now that what I have recorded in this study is largely the medical system of Orana:yi village, where the informants The singh and his mother Sithamma lived, and of the immediately contiguous hamlets where she practised. It is true that a therapist or a midwife does visit such neighbouring hamlets, but this does not negate my hypothesis. It simply means that instead of there being theoretically 370 medical systems (i.e., the number of Badaga villages) there are probably between 50 and 100 (i.e., the number of practising therapists); and each is very locally restricted.

A model for the diffusion of Badaga medical knowledge over several generations is sketched in Diagram 3. Topography conditions this pattern very much, for the Nilgiri Massif is fragmented into many small valleys, and these *tend* to be exogamous because they were mostly colonized in the first place by members of one particular clan. Idiosyncratic therapeutic information thus tends to remain within a valley over the generations, where of course it will be based on and adapted to the flora that are locally available (cf. 1.4). To the extent that this information is in the hands of womenfolk it becomes a service that they provide mostly for their affines, and along with ceremonial reciprocity, money-lending, and the all-important arrangement of marriages, is a factor in the linkage of diverse lineages and clans.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

759 757 1.12. It is thus arguable whether the Badagas really have any medical *system*, if by this we mean a single coherent set of rules for handling episodes of sickness; for their therapeutic knowledge does not appear to be systematized, at least by their own account, and neither textbooks nor colleges are involved in its transmission. The young learn to be midwives and therapists and veterinarians by watching the old at work and sometimes asking questions. In this work the pragmatic act of diagnosis appears to be much more important than any general theory of the causation of disease, with the consequence that when a particular cure fails to yield results a new diagnosis of the symptoms is often attempted. This seeming lack of systematization arises from the idiosyncratic nature of the cures that different therapists try, and is reflected in the fact that the various medicines (*kasaiya*, "mixture") have no specific names, even though they obviously must vary greatly according to the diagnosis.

Badaga therapeutics must be regarded as an art rather than as the science that Western medicine has become. In any such folk society healing is a creative process as much as it is the application of accumulated traditional knowledge. It seems likely that Badaga therapeutics has survived and developed successfully *because* of the idiosyncratic practices of the healers. Individuals have become famous for particular cures, and persistence of the whole "system" has depended on the reputations of the successful few.

759 757 178 All knowledge has been learnt differentially, and Badaga medical knowledge has been passed on from generation to generation only with a certain amount of misinformation, false identification of plants and symptoms, and local variation in practice (cf. Diagram 3). A systematization of the entirety of Badaga therapeutic knowledge does not exist—or did not, till the writing of this book—and, as Sir E.E. Evans-Pritchard suggested for Zande magic, only parts of the available medical knowledge are recalled for explanation and curing by either the therapists or their patients. Thus in his Zande case:

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> I am aware that my account of Zande magic suffers from lack of co-ordination. So does Zande magic. Magical rites do not form an interrelated system, and there is no nexus between one rite and another. Each is an isolated activity, so that they cannot all be described in an ordered account. . . In real life they do not

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

function as a whole but in bits. A man in one situation utilizes what in the beliefs are convenient to him and pays no attention to other elements which he might use in different situations. Hence a single event may evoke a number of different and contradictory beliefs among different persons. (Evans-Pritchard 1937: 540)

Much the same thing could be said of Badaga medicine. It is much more of a craft than a science, a fact that Weber recognized long ago as characterizing Indian therapy in general: "Medicine. . .in India, though highly developed in empirical technique, lacked a biological and particularly a biochemical foundation" (1930: 14).

The very fact that Badaga therapy has some of the characteristics of an art allows each therapist to elaborate the system in her own creative way wherever she sees a benefit in doing so. This brings us to a most important theoretical topic that should be central to all anthropological writing on cultural change, but curiously has not been: namely the role of women in cultural change. What seems like a conspiracy of silence on the subject has come about because of a greater concentration on processes than on personnel. Redfield, Kroeber, and many of their students have concerned themselves with such topics as innovation, diffusion, assimilation, acculturation, and so on, but have for the most part left the impression that these were realms of male activity. Such a misconception arose from a simplistic view of the role of women in alien societies. Indeed, in many of the societies studied it was difficult for male anthropologists to conduct extensive interviews with female informants: the view of female roles was thus to some extent a paraphrase of what male informants within the society saw those female roles to be. . . . And of course they were commonly stated to be woman as mother, woman as housekeeper, woman as trader, woman as agriculturist; more rarely, woman as politician or as lover. But woman as disciplinarian, poet, philosopher or innovator were topics scarcely ever touched in the cultural change literature. In the Badaga case it seems likely that while men did innovate in such areas as ritual and animal husbandry, women were commonly the innovators in therapy and midwifery, while both sexes probably had a role to play in the extensive agricultural and social innovations that followed upon their settlement on the Nilgiris.

1.13. For convenience we will now summarize very briefly the range of therapeutic practices that are to be described below in Chapters 5-8.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

hair to fall out. Some young girls use razors instead of this. The traditional method, still followed by some old women, is to rub wood ash into the pubes for one or two minutes and then pull each hair out separately. There was a wild plant that was dried for a few years, then burnt; and its ashes caused the hair to fall out as they were rubbed onto the body. The reason for removing the hair is that it can harbour ticks.

Before contact with the British, Badaga men shaved with the help of knives made by the Kotas. A potful of water served as a mirror. Later they began to shave themselves with broken bottle glass; and now razors can be bought in the bazaar. There are no professional barbers among the Badagas; but friends do sometimes shave each other. Poor men might shave rich men (but not *vice versa*), for which service they would receive some grain. A great indignity for the very poorest was to shave the pubes of other men for remuneration. Even today one may hear a person being abused with the words, "What can you do? You can't even shave my pubes!" Men regularly remove this hair for the same reason that women do.

Today Badaga men patronize barbers in the towns, but among elders one may still occasionally see the traditional haircut. The hair on top of the head should grow long, and this lock is then tied in a bun (*kotti*) at the back of the head. The sides are cropped short. A moustache gives dignity, and should only be shaved off for the funeral of a very close relative. Priests and headmen should not shave at all. Other matters of hygiene are discussed in the following chapter.

Clothing and Adornment[2]

2.14. It is generally said that before they left Mysore the Badaga women wore *sa:ris* — several meters of cloth draped around the body — and men wore *do:tis* — shorter lengths wrapped around them as loincloths. These at least are the traditional clothes of men and women in the Indian plains, now worn with such extras as blouses, shirts, underwear and shoes. But only in the twentieth century have the Badagas reverted to this plainsman style of dress, and that in combination with certain European influences too.

According to legend the later settlers fled to the Hills in the seven-

[2]Sections 2.14-2.17 are adapted from my longer article, "Badaga Apparel: Protection and Symbol," in *The Fabrics of Culture* (ed. Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz), pp. 143-174. See bibliography for details.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

1821: lxxii; Shortt 1868: 60; Rhiem 1900: 508-09; Francis 1908: 130; Thurston 1909: 81; Tignous 1911: 116; Benbow 1930: 13-15; Verghese 1963: 419).

In the nineteen-thirties a small number, who had been to high school or who had cultural contacts with Tamilian women from the plains of Madras, started giving up this traditional white dress for multi-coloured *sa:ris*. Today only the older Badaga women can be seen in traditional dress. In the nineteen-forties high school girls began wearing jackets. Today at the English-language private schools in the Nilgiris one occasionally meets Badaga girls in full English school uniform, including a short skirt; and the word "miniskirt" has actually passed into the Badaga language, even though the article has never been seen in their villages. Since 1950 blouses covering the upper arms and shoulders have become popular. Another innovation is underwear: since the nineteen-fifties all young women have worn brassieres, and underpants are worn by all schoolgirls.

2.16. The basic dress of the men is a loincloth (*muṇḍu*) worn over a breechclout that is kept in place by a string around the waist; the doubled-over loincloth reaches to the ankle, but is commonly pulled up to the knees. A cloak or blanket is wrapped around the upper part of the body, and a turban of cotton or silk sits loosely around the head. Traditionally no footwear was worn, for fear of offending the diety they walked upon; but in the nineteenth century men began wearing leather boots and sandals which had been purchased locally. Men's shoes came into use early in the present century. A distinctive pair of gold earrings, perhaps a silver finger-ring, and an umbrella or walking-stick complete the men's apparel. The elaborately embroidered cloak (*pugaru si:le* in Baḍagu) of the Todas is also favoured by older men, and is virtually a mark of office for village headmen. At the turn of this century men started wearing European-style jackets and trousers; but before that they had adopted shirts, which hang outside the loincloth; Kashmir shawls in red, orange, green or blue wool have also been popular with the men since the 1920s. "Pork-pie" caps, coloured nightcaps, and "Gandhi" caps have likewise been fashionable alternatives to the turban for some time. By mid-century the pubic cloth was giving way to cotton shorts or Western-style underpants, except among older men. (Ward 1821: lxxii; Shortt 1868: 60; Grigg 1880: 220: Francis 1908; 130; Thurston 1909: 81; Tignous 1911: 116; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 247.)

2.17. This account of Badaga appearance will not be complete

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

spiritual guide, does not give his nephews or nieces any of this information either. Girls may exceptionally be able to get advice from their mothers or grandmothers.

Girls do have sexual discussions however, mainly with other girls of the same age, and especially with adolescent girls who have recently married or who are about to be married. A group of adolescent friends is thus where a young bride will find out about the sexual experiences of others. In general young girls are not included in such discussions before they reach puberty, as it is felt they would not understand.

There is a situation in which the instruction of girls used to be more formalized, and at the same time allowed for an older, experienced woman to teach them. Until the early part of this century unmarried adolescent girls used to sleep together in one house of their village. Since the young boys did the same thing in another house, this allowed married adults more freedom to engage in sexual activity at home. Naturally the girls sometimes had sexual discussions and the woman, often a widow, in whose house they were staying would usually join in with some practical advice.

The custom of boys sleeping together in one house has virtually ceased, but it did offer them too an opportunity for sexual discussions. Boys show an interest in sex at an earlier age than girls do, and from the age of 12 they take part in discussions with youths much older than themselves, including some who are married. Thus some boys may joke with a newly-wed friend about what they have heard him doing at night, and he in turn may choose to give them a detailed description.

Boys who are not attending school have a great deal of time to spend on sexual discussions and experimentation. Usually too there are some idle old men in the village who kill time by talking about sex with the boys or discuss the subject amongst themselves. Young husbands and wives may also have such discussions, just as unmarried lovers do. Groups of women may be quite frank about their experiences in front of each other, too. Newly married brides can hope to learn something from their perhaps more experienced husbands, and adolescent boys sometimes manage to learn from the wife of an elder brother.

3.3. Conversation inevitably leads to observation, and in a peasant society opportunities abound for watching sexual activity. Most visible, of course, are the dogs and cattle in the village, whose be-

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

839 [157] Bestiality is an even rarer phenomenon than homosexuality. The only instances that were reported to me were, first, the curing of a venereal disease by intercourse with a donkey (6.61); and secondly, an adult herdsman who was seen standing on a rock and having relations with a female buffalo. The Basel Mission presbytery [199] minutes for 1903 (written by Badagas) cite similar problems with a Badaga Christian teacher: "...last year he committed sin with a Toda girl...when he was on the way to Ooty to see his wife, who had gone there for her confinement. He also confessed that he had committed the same sin with his own country mare. This was all he confessed." (Basel Mission 1905: 305.)

128 3.5. These however are for Badagas aberrant forms of sexual expression; most experimentation takes the form of heterosexual intercourse. Its techniques will be described later (3.16), but here we will discuss only those situations in which young Badagas learn about sexuality. For purposes of clarity we can talk about affairs with lovers of the same community, extra-community liaisons, and situations in which parents used to arrange formal training for their adolescent children.

864 835 836 [178] This last custom no longer prevails. It used to occur until some 30 years ago, the initiative to train a girl being taken by her own parents or another close relative; while a boy would usually seek his indoctrination in the arms of an elder brother's wife. In a typical case a man might tell his wife that their unmarried daughter was now old enough for sexual initiation. The wife would then speak to a married daughter about the matter, and she in turn would ask her own husband to offer the necessary practical training when an [607] opportunity arose. In any event, it was supposed to be a relative, such as sister's husband — even if only in a classificatory sense — who should initiate a young girl. If a girl did not undergo such an initiation there was another opportunity for her immediately following her wedding. In this instance the person who would deflorate the bride was not the groom, but a more experienced man who could be gentle with her for the first night or two, and would be related to her as a classificatory husband's brother. The new husband would be absent on these occasions. This custom is no longer [178] followed.

864 835 607 836 The obverse situation would involve a youth when aged about seventeen being given sexual training by a brother's wife who might be ten years or more his senior, and in some instances used to be

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

picked for the task by the boy's own parents. This initiation of youths still seems to occur: some do it because an older man has advised them to, others because they love the woman, and others again because her own husband seems unable to satisfy her. The elder brother's wife is in fact the most accessible person for a youth's training or gratification: the two of them are often working together in the fields, and even if they do not live under the same roof a young man always has ready access to his brother's house. In earlier days relations with such a woman were particularly common when she was on the way from her husband's village to visit her father, when she was working outside the village, or when her husband went out to the fields to guard the crops against wild animals during the night. The husband might himself recommend that his younger brother stay with his wife, to assuage her fears of the Kurumba sorcerers. If the young man were seen leaving her house in the morning, no one would criticize him or think less of the woman.

Such formal sexual initiation has virtually ended, but adolescents still indulge in sexual play, some girls even being so aggressive as to way-lay boys in the woods for this purpose. There is no indication that such play occurs before the coming of puberty, and nowadays the fact that most children are attending school makes it less frequent. Since this kind of play most often occurs within the village community it takes place between consanguineal relatives, albeit distant ones. The play is of course conducted in secret, and without knowledge of the parents. The most adventurous kind of love assignment is one in which a youth hides inside the house of his beloved, by squatting inside the huge grain storage basket (*balla*) that some homes still have. Once everyone has gone to sleep he gets out for the rendezvous. Girls who are guarding a field from the birds are an ideal target for amorous adventures; and there it is usually a pair of girls who are approached by a pair of boys. Girls gathering wood in the forest may also be propositioned, but if they spend too much time away from the rest of the women their absence will be noticed. If it should happen that an adolescent girl becomes pregnant by a boy who is her agnate she cannot marry him, and her parents therefore try to arrange a marriage as quickly as possible with a male who is in the "correct" relationship to their daughter, preferably a cross-cousin. Generally a man does not want to marry a pregnant girl unless she is carrying his child.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Lovers and Prostitutes

3.6. Badaga girls used to be married shortly after puberty and youths in their late adolescence. Various social pressures, most importantly the new educational requirements, have increased these ages until today a girl gets married at about 16 and a young man in his early 20s. Since births are not registered it is possible for parents to claim their daughter is older than she really is at marriage: recent legislation about age at marriage (18 for girls, 21 for men) might sometimes prompt them to do so.

One effect of this raising of the appropriate age for marriage has been an increase in premarital sex activity among male youths. The corresponding phenomenon does not seem to have occurred among the girls, however; quite the opposite, in fact. I was told that a "double standard" has recently appeared, in that if an unmarried man is known to be having an affair he is not thought badly of, whereas if a young woman does so she is mocked by other villagers and considered very immoral. This development has come about since mid-century because of changing attitudes towards pregnancy. In earlier days an unmarried girl would have affairs without any great fear of pregnancy, because she knew that if she did become pregnant she could go before the village council, name the father, and he would be forced to marry the girl concerned. She only had to assert that a man was the father and he would have to marry and support her — even if he already had a wife. Should a man refuse to accept the council's decision on the matter he could be outcasted and ordered out of the village, his property divided among his brothers, and a share of it given to support the pregnant girl. This, rather than an abortion, was the normal procedure. Today an unmarried woman is very circumspect even if she has reached the age of 30. She knows that a ruined reputation can spoil her chances of an advantageous marriage, and the village council has little power to force a wayward man into marrying or supporting her today.

3.7. As with much else in Indian social organization, there is a hierarchy in the frequency and acceptability of extra-marital sexual partners, as outlined below.

(*a*) Most frequently chosen is a girl related as affine to a boy; they are a couple who might later marry without offence. Usually this means the girl would have to be of the same phratry but a different clan, and live in a different village from the boy's. If the parents

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

841 the average after 25 days, and may even span two months. Girls are reported to begin at 14 or 15 years, but in some cases menarche comes at 12.

841 These are the simple physiological facts as Badagas know them,
783 yet the social implications of menstruation are anything but simple. "Menses (*olavu*) pollutes nine houses; and likewise a person who has not yet washed after a meal pollutes seven houses." As this pro-
[343] verb underlines, the event pollutes a woman and could pollute her home too; so that it has been customary for every woman to spend a few days each month in a special menstrual hut. Every village used
841 to have one (some still do), a fact that underlines the general threat
343 women posed to the purity of the Badaga house. Thurston (1909: 102-03) and "Miles" (1933: 73) record that a girl might be sent to the hut on a Friday a few days before the new moon, a few months before her first menses, lest this come on an inauspicious day. Should this occur, no further ritual precaution can be taken.

881 At the onset of a girl's first menses she is immediately taken to
[515] the nearest river where, no matter what the weather, she takes a bath and then puts on a clean set of clothes given by her parents.
[783] The girl throws her old clothes away before bathing, or else picks them up afterwards with a stick and disposes of them. Nobody should touch polluted clothes, although non-Badaga scavengers may in fact take them away. Similarly the new clothes which a girl wears during her first menstrual seclusion will also be thrown away and never touched again.

881 Once these new clothes are on, she goes directly to the menstrual
343 hut if her village still has one. Although it is no longer a common institution some villages maintain one today merely for its ritual
[178] use at a girl's first menstruation, and older women are not secluded in it. Where the hut does not exist the girl is sent off to a cowshed (probably a disused one, because this is supposed to be a sacred building); or failing that a vacant house, or at least a separate room of her own house. This latter might be built for her on one end of the veranda, particularly if it is raining heavily at the time.

881 Once in her hut or room the girl is under severe restrictions. She must not touch milk (Jagor 1876: 200). She cannot go to the public water source, nor should she pass near the temple or along the street where the Great House stands (that built by the founder of the village); nor should she attend any auspicious ceremony or public festival. She should not step over the village's water channel, or the

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

path between the priest's home and the temple, or go beyond the territorial boundary of her own village. She must not collect dry firewood, lest she become barren. She must not face the village priest; so that when he starts out from his home for the temple he shouts "hu:hu:" (or rings a handbell if it is a Lingayat village) as a warning to *all* menstruating women to hide themselves. The girl must cook her own food while she is in seclusion, and cannot be supplied with it already cooked from her own home. Instead, every household in the village should give the girl a small amount of rice, chili, salt, pulse, millet flour or vegetables. Such gifts are not to be returned later in equal measurs.

3.12. A girl's first seclusion is for no fixed period. She can re-enter her home only on a Monday, Wednesday or Friday, but it must be either the first day after the new moon or else whichever of these three days falls most closely before the full moon. Although this is the Badaga custom, today one out of five girls would instead go to the nearest town and, in Tamilian fashion, consult an astrologer as to the most auspicious day for re-entering the house. On that day she bathes outside the house, puts on a set of totally new clothes, and cuts her nails with a small knife. Along with the other new clothes she is given the traditional headcloth, which she ties over her head before entering the home or which is replaced by the end of a *sa:ri* held over her head, if she has adopted that mode of dress (Hockings 1979a). Only after sunset, when she can see stars, does the girl cross the threshold, doing so with the right, auspicious foot first. It is reported that she used to be led up to the threshold by five elderly women (Francis 1908: 131). Once inside she goes to the doorway that joins the two main rooms, kneels down, and touches her head to the floor. By this gesture she acknowledges that the further room, the *ogamane*, is a sacred place which she will never pollute by her menses. As the girl bows down, older people in that house say a prayer. She then stands and bows her head to the hand of the oldest person in the house, and then to all other relatives present. Next, accompanied by another girl of similar age such as a sister, she goes round the village and bows in the same manner to all people older than herself. On that occasion each household must offer her something to eat as a symbol of their mutual kinship. Generally the girl is given milk, but in a large village she may only taste a drop of that milk because she could not drink so much. And although the village may be large, the bowing cannot be postponed

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

1933: 74). They now keep rags on a special shelf in the house for the same purpose: the men, knowing what the rags are intended for, never place anything else on the same shelf. Today, with the menstrual hut rarely used, women simply sit on a pile of ash in a corner of the outer room for three days. If a menstruating woman sleeps there she cleans and changes her clothes and bedding every day. At the end of the period she puts her mattress outside to air, cleans the floor at the place where it lay, and sprinkles the area with liquid cowdung. The woman may even enter the inner, sacred room during the day; whereas a generation or two beforehand that action would have resulted in her being divorced and sent home to her father. The outraged husband would then have the entire house cleaned out and would perform the rituals appropriate for the completion of a new building.

Although older women think the menstrual hut was a good institution, in that it gave women six days of complete rest each month, there is a general recognition that the present custom is not altogether inconvenient, since a woman now has ready access to clean clothing, water, and some other household facilities. The fact that a woman may leave a characteristic odour in the house is seen as the main disadvantage today. Some families still observe a custom that prohibits a woman from drinking buttermilk or entering a cattleshed until the seventh day after menses. This indicates that the latter building is considered more sacred than the inner room of a house; (and indeed, in certain respects, a cattleshed could be used as a temple in earlier times).

3.14. Some other observations can be offered on the use women made of their time while in the menstrual hut. Each hamlet, and sometimes each cluster of hamlets, had only one such hut. This was the case even in hamlets that were riven by factions, for such disputes were mainly the concern of the men (as we shall see again when discussing who attends a woman's delivery). A woman may enter any convenient hut and if she were, for example, visiting her father's village she would use the menstrual hut there. A man may even send his wife away to another village for her period if there is a woman of ill repute currently staying in the hut in his own village. Married adolescent girls who had never been pregnant would usually return to their fathers' villages to use the hut. Such predilections were not the result of whim or differential cleanliness, but were reactions to the well-known fact that the hut was a key place for arranging

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

In a similar arrangement an old man's younger brother slept with the new wife and begot children who were treated as her husband's. Such practices now seem to have stopped. "Children for an older man are a weight on his shoulder," says the proverb.

3.16. In keeping with the idea that intercourse should satisfy a couple, Badagas are familiar with a variety of coital approaches—although nothing like that described in the *Kama Sutra*. The psychological benefits of making love are acknowledged in a proverb: "[If husband and wife are] not on good terms before midnight, they will play after midnight."

Badagas customarily take a bath before having sexual relations, and under normal conditions are both nude when making love. Older couples are generally naked in bed, but nowadays the younger people wear pyjamas or underwear. Young men, particularly if educated in a city, know how to use foreplay to get a woman excited. Until European films were seen in the Nilgiris, however, mouth-kissing was not indulged in, although men did kiss and bite the neck, cheeks and breasts of their women. Inside the house the normal position for intercourse is lying on a bed, but if they have to hurry the couple will use a standing position or stoop over something, with the man entering from behind, as indeed they do when in the forest. Parents may have relations in the same bed their children are sleeping in, in which case they will lie on their sides during intercourse. Curiously, a couple can do this with their baby lying beside them, and it will not be affected by the "bad wind" of coitus; whereas if they do it in another room they must not come near their baby until they have cleaned themselves and put on fresh clothes, for fear that the baby will be affected. Furthermore, if they also have some older children they may take them into the same bed with the baby before having intercourse in that very bed; the belief here being that even though the other children are weaned they too could be affected by this very dangerous "wind" if they were sleeping in another room. Young couples with no children generally sleep in a small room by themselves, on the end of the veranda. If their ageing parents live with them, the couple may leave the inner room to them and sleep under the wide shelf in the outer room. Otherwise a couple will occupy the inner room at night. If a man has two wives he usually has relations with one in the presence of the other, all three sharing the same bed.

Although a young bride should be the first to get up in the morn-

Fertility and Infertility

3.17. A basic problem of public health administration—to control the abundant fertility of Indian and other Asian populations—has never been taken for a problem by the Badaga community. Even though their population has increased from 2,207 in 1812 to 104,392 in 1971 their village leaders are only now beginning to perceive that such a staggering increase (4,730 per cent in 160 years) has to be curtailed. Sons were of course valued in a farming community in a frontier-like situation, and long after swidden agriculture had ceased and the amount of farmland stabilized people still thought in terms of having a number of sons for security. This entailed on the average having the same number of daughters. ("Even though you repeatedly tell her, she is only delivering girls," a proverb bemoans.) And as standards of public hygiene slowly increased so too did the excess of births over deaths. In various prayers Badagas still ask: "May the house be filled with children!" In contrast, however, one proverb acknowledges that, "The mother who has given birth to ten children [is almost like someone] dead from having fallen in the lake." Another traditional proverb counsels: "Rather than deliver ten pigs [i.e., unscrupulous children], deliver one [good child] Nandi." In the 600 households of my sample the average nuclear family had 3.7 children.

For Badagas then, the more important problem is infertility. Several lady therapists have built their reputations on their abilities to cure or at least to predict a woman's barrenness. In some marriages, as we have seen, the apparent infertility is an effect, in the Badaga's view, of the couple thinking about divorce and hence not satisfying each other through intercourse. "Treatment" for infertility will be discussed in more detail below (6.62).

The commonest solution for an infertile marriage is for the woman to bring her younger sister into the home as a second wife. Should the latter prove infertile too their natal family is considered accursed: the thought that the problem might lie with the husband does not arise. If the barren wife does not supply a substitute she is usually sent home to her parents. Her fate then, if she is lucky, will be to marry a widower who needs a woman's labour in the house but who already has his children (Jagor 1876: 200). Nowadays childless couples tend to follow the South Indian practice of visiting distant temples on pilgrimage, and promising to give the gods something when they have been blessed with a son.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

butter, palm sugar, and several limes will always be required and the husband should have purchased them a few days beforehand. Even the black peppers and other ingredients for the special curry given the woman after her delivery must all be provided by her husband. However, it is common nowadays for the girl's father to buy all of these materials, and her husband to reimburse him in cash.

4.9. In the old days delivery occurred only on the veranda, and never in the house, because it was an impure act. There were no separate menstrual huts for this, as with the neighbouring Kotas. Now the birth generally takes place in one of the outer rooms of the house. Some women even give birth in the inner, more sacred room, while others go to a hospital. In the old days however a screen of planks or blankets would be erected on the veranda to protect the woman from wind and cold; for then as now her body was bare during the delivery. A loincloth is simply put over her shoulders for a little warmth. Now that the event occurs inside the house though, the door is closed to keep in the heat.

When the woman starts to labour, people in her house call for a village midwife, who takes charge of the situation. It is said that in the old days the grinding stone was in front of the woman for her to hold on to. Nowadays, following their experience in hospitals, some women are delivered lying flat on their backs on the floor, with face upwards. More usually the woman kneels on the ground, with a girl in front of her to support her. Her legs are apart, and an experienced midwife is behind her to catch the baby before it falls onto the floor. During the actual delivery the midwife checks that the umbilical cord is not around the baby's neck. In some instances gingelly oil is applied to the vagina to ease the delivery. (This is referred to in a proverb about there being an appropriate time and place for everything: "It is like delivering a child where oil is seen.")

In the old days midwives knew how to put a hand inside and pull the baby out, and some can still do this (after carefully cutting their nails and washing the hands): it is only done as a last resort with a difficult delivery, though. Before that in a difficult case the midwife feels the surface of the stomach to tell if the baby is in the wrong position. If it is, then the mother is made to place her head on the pounding stone, and five or six women support her as she balances there, upside down with her legs held up in the air. Then

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

half, and on each cut surface someone puts fresh cowdung, a blade of Bermuda grass, and some clarified butter. Then an old, experienced woman takes the first half of the lime and runs itdo wn the right side of the baby, not quite touching the body. As she does this she says: "This child belongs to both the father and the mother;" but she does not name the parents. This assertion of joint parentage is the whole point of the ritual. Then the half lime is sucked by the mother, touched to her child's mouth, and thrown away. In the same manner the other half of the lime is then run down the left side of the baby, the same pronouncement made, and the mother sucks the lime, touches it to the baby's mouth, and throws it away too. The lime is perhaps intended to ward off evil spirits. If at an unexpected birth no lime is available, the ritual is either done using the leaf of a lime tree, or failing that it is done with the cowdung, grass and clarified butter alone. After this the baby is fed, first from the right breast, then from the left.

Bezoar is a "heat-giving" substance from the stomach of a cow, supposedly the one which leads the herd. A small quantity of it—about as much as a coriander seed—is covered with mother's milk and given to a male infant just after he has drunk milk for the first time. Should there be none available then, the bezoar can also be fed to him on the third, fifth or seventh day of life, and that day must be a Friday, Tuesday, or Sunday. It is believed that this substance will make the boy active, strong, and very brave; it is therefore not given to girls, lest they grow up to disobey their husbands. The biggest bezoar stones are perhaps 2 cm. in diameter. They are found in the stomachs of nearly all cows, especially those which are very healthy or those which are barren. Interestingly, all vegetarian Badagas give this substance to their infants, even though they know it comes from a dead animal, Like all children's medicines, it is now obtainable in the town bazaars, though formerly it was supplied by the Kota tribe; it even comes in "tablet form."

If the woman is actually ill before the delivery, and in half of the other childbirth cases as a precaution, she is given a medicine before drinking the coffee offered her after the birth. An oil called *be:vene*, which comes from the seed of the nim tree, is boiled with some garlic in it, allowed to cool for a while, and then the mother drinks a little and the remainder is rubbed over her head, neck and body. The oil is very "heat-giving." A piece of garlic is tied with

not savour the idea of that; (although if it happens nothing in particular follows). Should the infant die shortly afterwards, before it has been named, it too is treated as afterbirth material and buried at the usual cemetery. If someone asks the mournful family who has died, the answer must be "No one."

4.13. For the first day or two after birth the mother is given a hot bath four or five times daily. Up till this time she cannot bathe herself, but must have some woman help her. After that time she bathes herself in hot water, twice daily until 25 to 30 days after delivery, and thereafter once daily. Always, the water used is hot. The baby is given a bath three times daily for the first eight days, then twice a day till the nineteenth day, and thereafter once daily, in the evening only.

In the old days, the newly delivered mother was given a special preparation of little millet. This was first baked, and then boiled till it was a mushy porridge (Birch 1838: 104). Now she eats a non-liquid curry. For that peppercorns are fried in a clarified butter, then ground up on the curry grinder. Then some garlic is fried, and salt, tamarind and clarified butter mixed with it while it is kept warm beside the fire. A limited amount of this food is given to the mother twice daily until the fourth or fifth day after delivery, by an old woman who will restrict the quantity even though the mother might want more. Thereafter, for the next 20 to 40 days, according to the state of the mother's health, she continues with this as her morning meal, but in the evenings has paddy rice and lentil soup. She can take a small amount of milk, even from the day of her delivery. This can only be cow's milk, and must be boiled before drinking. It is recognized that a woman who has given birth may appear weak and ugly, and repeated births can lead to ill-health. A proverb puts it this way: "The appearance of a woman who has just given birth to one child is like the appearance of a heifer which has given birth that day."

No woman who has given birth may touch any household utensils till the third, fifth, seventh or ninth day after the first full or new moon, I was told; alternatively it has been reported that she must first see the crescent moon before the period of pollution can end (Thurston 1909: 109). She should be given no work for eight days before or eight days after her delivery: during that fortnight her husband must provide for all her needs, even if he is on the point of divorcing her. It used to be that after five, seven,

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

and all sleep in a vacant house, or one where only a widow lives, or one with a newborn baby (and hence no possibility of adult sexual activity at night). If a group is sleeping in such a house children of the opposite sex are not allowed in it.

5.20. In the last century children might only wash once a month, and be really dirty the rest of the time. Now they are washed every evening, and after reaching five years they do this for themselves. In the morning they only wash the face and clean the teeth with charcoal and a twig. Until about 1930 girls below five wore no undergarments but were simply wrapped in a loincloth. Even above that age boys and girls from very poor families continued to dress like that. Now both boys and girls wear vests and underpants from an early age. I will not offer further details on their dress here, as a full account may be found in Hockings (1979 b). By the age of seven or eight children knew how to wash their clothes; but since about 1930 and the requirements of schooling they have usually given their dirty clothes to an obliging sister or mother.

5.21. In summary, we can see that children become enculturated partly by the tales their elders entertain them with, and partly by moving freely around the village, doing things together like working and playing and sleeping. As in all parts of India, small children look to their elder siblings for guidance and leadership. As one proverb expresses this, "If the firstborn is not up to the ears, how can the later-born reach to the horns?" Outdoor group games are popular with the very young, and will be supervised by some old man or woman. In later childhood team sports such as football and a near-lethal form of field hockey are played between village teams. There are also hopscotch games, board games and string figures to while away the time or sharpen the wits of children at various ages. As we will now outline, there is also a series of childhood ceremonies which educate a young person in the values and the structure of his society, and in some cases affect his appearance and attitudes.

Childhood Ceremonies

5.22. This is not the place to offer a detailed ethnographic account of the various life-cycle ceremonies that are performed: they have already been described elsewhere by Natesa Sastri (1892) and

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Thurston (1909). We will simply offer a listing of what the ceremonies are, in chronological order, and will also describe those nonceremonial childhood events which alter the surface of the human body in some way, and hence are of some relevance to an account of Badaga health and illness.

(*a*) *Birth*. The only ceremonial aspect at delivery is a magical act to ward off any evil influence. It is described in detail above (4.11).

(*b*) *Naming*. This important ceremony makes the child into a social being, and must be performed before the fortieth day of life. Should it die before the ceremony the child's corpse is buried without a formal funeral (Jagor 1876: 199; Thurston 1909: 110).

(*c*) *Head Shaving*. This is usually combined with the ear boring, and should occur within about a year of the child's birth, but after the naming ceremony. The shaving is now done with a razor but formerly used a fragment of bottle glass (Thurston 1909: 110). Children should have a second complete shave at any time from two weeks to a year afterwards, but with no further ceremony, before their hair is allowed to grow long.

(*d*) *Ear Boring*. Sometimes this used to be combined with the naming ceremony (Jagor 1876: 199), but otherwise it occurs during a child's first year. It should follow the shaving. An earring is simply touched to the child's ear, but several years later the lobes will be punctured without any further ceremony, using the point of an earring for this (Rhiem 1900: 503).

(*e*) *First Tooth Ceremony*. Generally all babies get their lower teeth first, but in the case of a boy there will be a small ceremony if he gets teeth in the *upper* jaw first.

(*f*) *School*. There is no ceremony for when a child starts school, but the parents select an auspicious day for this and distribute sweets to the new classmates.

(*g*) *Nostril Piercing*. This is done in a girl's ninth, eleventh or thirteenth year on an auspicious day, but without any ceremony. In earlier times it was essential for a girl to have a nose-ring before she got married. Since about 1955 the practice has stopped altogether, and before that it was often combined with a girl's tattooing.

(*h*) *Tattooing*. Today the tattooing of girls is going out of fashion, and few of the younger women are so marked. A century ago however all women were tattooed on the forehead, and Jagor illustrates

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

sad and discouraged, return home in the full conviction that the expenses they have been put to and the pains they have taken have been of no avail. (Dubois 1906 : 594-95)

More recently it has also been reported that sterile women attended the popular festival of the goddess Ma:riamma at Ka:ramaḍai, near the eastern foot of the Nilgiris in Coimbatore District, to have intercourse with religious mendicants there in the hope of getting children. Such unpleasant procedures, resorted to by Badaga, Tamilian and Kanarese pilgrims alike, have long since ceased to occur, but childless couples still make vows at the Ka:ramaḍai festival "Miles" : (1933 267).

6.65. A liquid medicine (details unrecorded) otherwise given to newly delivered mothers (cf. 4.11) is administered to a person who cannot urinate. This condition and the associated swollen bladder, caused by excess of "heat" in the body, are relieved by the medicine.

URETHRITIS (*sege*)

Fevers

6.66. The Badagas like the English have a saying, "If you are suffering from a cold, take extra food; if suffering from a fever, take little food." There are different kinds of fever, and they can affect people of all ages, but one medicine can be taken for all kinds. The shoots and smaller leaves of the velvety patchouli and related species (*koḍaṅgu*) are ground up and the juice from them mixed with some salt. This is swallowed, and is said to be more effective than quinine. In the early nineteenth century opium was used as a prophylactic against fever (Price 1908: 224).

FEVER (*jara*)

6.67. The Kurumbas knew of a now-forgotten twig or root which, when smelled fresh, dispelled fever. The present medicine of the Badagas makes use instead of the nest of the red-headed fantail warbler

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

rational manipulation—imponderable factors like the will of God, for example—others are as close to the individual as the diseases that afflict his own body. It seems that all Badagas recognize six kinds of specialists as mediators between the individual and his cultural and biological environment. (Their importance is incidentally expressed in a proverb: "You should not stay in a village without a mediator [even till] noon.")

The first of these categories is the paramount chief (*na:ku betta gauda*) of all the Badagas, a man whose powers are now greatly diminished, but who in earlier times was ultimately responsible for mediating between the community and the outside world. This meant that he was obliged to intercede with and pay revenue to the Muslim overlords in the eighteenth century and the East India Company in the early nineteenth century. Since then he has continued to mediate between the Badagas and the Toda, Kota and Kurumba tribes on issues that concern the entire community.

Secondly, each hamlet headman (*gauda*), aided by a small council of elders, is responsible for mediating between the individual and the traditional laws and customs of the community. He is thus responsible for conformity and punishment in his hamlet.

Thirdly, the priest in each village, as everywhere else in India, is responsible for mediating between man and the gods. His ability to gain their attention and win their support is crucial for the fertility of crops and cattle, and hence for the well-being of the village community.

These three types of mediators are not primarily concerned with issues of health, except incidentally when a village has to be vacated during an epidemic. But the other three mediators are all health specialists. The midwife is concerned with the yet unborn. The therapist deals with problems of the living body (human or animal). The exorcist mediates between the community and the ghosts of the dead. Each is thus relied upon for mediation in a well-defined sphere, as Diagram 5 illustrates.

This "sphere of mediation" that separates the individual Badaga from the problems of everyday life differs in its economic dimension from comparable mediation in the Western world. We normally pay our doctor or dentist for his professional services when we feel we need them; the Badaga normally does *not* pay directly for any of these six types of mediator, and indeed it is by no means always the suffering individual who makes the decision to

177 [121] But there is a very real reason for claiming that 1913 is a crucial year, the last year of what we might call "traditional" Badaga society. For during the 1914-1918 War, the Badagas were drawn into the war economy to produce quantities of European vegetables, primarily the potato, and to sell these to military forces for what was at that time considered handsome profit. A few Badagas also came into contact with factory work and the idea of the coöperative society, when they found employment in a local munitions factory. This is not to deny that any changes had occurred in the society prior to 1913: they certainly had, but they were slow to appear and restricted in their scope; moreover, they are generally ill-documented. The most significant and far-reaching of 19th Century changes • 178 were (1) the abandoning of some slash-and-burn cultivation for exclusively settled farming, around 1860-1870; (2) the impact of mission schools, the beginnings of literacy, and the formation of a distinct Badaga Christian community; (3) the appearance of new types of merchandise, and the adoption of a cash economy in place of the earlier system of barter.

127 Published descriptions of Badagas prior to 1913 are these (full information is given in the Bibliography):

1812 Keys: "A Topographical Description of the Neelagherry Mountains."

1820 Macpherson: "Letter to John Sullivan Esq."

1821 Ward: "Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neelagherry Mountains..."

1823 Mackworth: "Diary of a Tour through Southern India..."

1829 Hough: "Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, &c. &c. of the Neilgherries..."

1832 Harkness: "A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the

175 (Grigg 1880: 228, 268-69). Whatever the details of their migration may be, it is
[167] known that no further Badagas arrived from Mysore after the first English report mentioning the Nilgiri peoples (Buchanan 1807: 246-47). They have been consolidated as a community for at least two centuries (Anonymous 1819: liv-lv; Macpherson 1820: lix; Ward 1821: lxx-lxxi). Furthermore the system of socio-
• 178 cultural interdependence which linked the Badagas with the other tribal groups there at the beginning of the 20th Century did not differ greatly from the situation as it was sketchily recorded in 1603 (Fenicio 1603: 723). In general therefore we
101 can say that the Badagas were Kanarese-speaking agriculturists who settled in the
197 Nilgiris from perhaps six until two centuries ago, and who were there consolidated into a tribe-like community interacting with the other local tribes.

433 Records indicate that until about 1860 or 1870 the Badagas were slash-and-burn cultivators as well as settled farmers (cf. Grigg 1880: 315-17, 321; Francis 1908: 4; Thurston 1909: I, 78-79). Those who ate meat were also in the habit of hunting, until some 30 years ago. After 1860 the British administration
241 [657] wanted the peasants to remain on the same tracts of farmland; whereupon they gradually took to cultivating European vegetables, particularly the potato, which
241 439 they sold for cash in the town markets (Metz 1864: 153-54). Since 1957 a series of crop failures caused by a potato disease has prompted the Badagas to turn more and more to the cultivation of tea and coffee, products which are also sold locally for cash. In the past the food needs of these villagers have been satisfied by the cultivation of millets; but since about 1920 it has been more common for them to purchase rice as a staple, using money brought in by the potato, tea or coffee sales (Ranga 1934: 68).

262 000 Dairy produce is an essential part of the Badaga diet. Nearly every

231 592 Nearly every family owns a few buffaloes, and the more affluent also have good European breeds of cow. Until the Second World War it was normal for buffaloes and oxen to be 178 492 used in plowing; but in recent years the fragmentation of land holdings and the terracing of slopes have made the plow superfluous, as such small plots can only be worked by manual labor (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

178 463 The shortage of farmland during the present century has caused some Badagas to look to other occupations. Today there are several hundred college graduates employed in law, medicine, education and government. Such people usually work in the towns, and preferably in the Nilgiris; but wherever possible they continue to live in their natal villages.

184 The Badagas embrace four quite distinguishable sub-cultures. These can be identified as:

1) The (non-Lingayat) Śaivites, who form about 90 percent of the entire community;

2) The Lingayats, a small but influential minority;

3) The Christian converts, who are considered Badagas in a court of law but regard themselves as separate from, and are treated as a distinct and inferior caste by, the other Badagas;

4) The Wynaad Gaudas, a peripheral minority of Badagas who have lived for two or three centuries in eight widely separated villages of the Wynaad Plateau, and are now culturally closer to the Wynaad Chettis than to the Hill Badagas. We shall not be concerned with them in this study. (301)

615 Apart from these distinctions, the Hill Badagas (nos. 1 and 2 in the above list) divided into a number of jati-like social groups -- we are calling them

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER II

THE BADAGAS IN NILGIRI SOCIETY

The Interdependence of Nilgiri Communities

Until about the year 1913 the Badagas were as intimately involved in the traditional system of economic and ritual interaction of the Nilgiris as were the other main participants, the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Throughout the whole of the 19th Century, from the first lengthy description of the Badagas (Keys 1812) until Father Tignous' account (1911), there seems to have been no essential change in the organization of this complex relationship; but after the First World War the Badagas tended to withdraw more and more from the obligations and privileges which had traditionally been theirs. What then were these obligations and privileges? How complex were they?

Each of the four groups was linked with each of the others through patrilineally inherited partnerships. The men involved in these supplied each other with traditional goods and services which supplemented their own economic production, and also symbolized their social interrelationship through ritual interaction.

Only the Badagas produced a real surplus of grains; Kotas and Kurumbas grew hardly enough crops for their own needs, and Todas grew nothing whatsoever. Thus the Badagas were obliged to dole out grain to Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas

692 Hingam 1957). At each successive level in this process the headman will consider the decision of the previous lower-level hearings. Usually he will offer the same judgment, yet sometimes he may not only reverse the decision but also fine the headmen who have given a "wrong judgment". This right of the superior headmen is -- or, to be more accurate, was -- an important means of social control.

178 626 692 Until the end of the last century this system was functioning to the exclusion of the official Indian legal system, for no Badaga would risk the punishment of ostracism which could be expected for taking a case to a magistrate. A 19th Century Badaga proverb warned that, "If you take a complaint to a magistrate, it is as if you had put poison in your adversary's food". During the decades that this was in common use, there was a rigid set of punishments merited by specific crimes; and this was said to have replaced an earlier system of lex talionis in pre-British days. The Badagas would hang a man whom they had themselves found guilty of murder (unless the British officials heard about the case in time); for certain other severe crimes, including conversion to Christianity, ostracism or banishment was meted out. Apart from these punishments there were various demeaning and unproductive tasks that an offender might be ordered to perform; or his head might be shaved; or one of the standard fines could be levied. Among the Badagas of the 19th Century the only fines were in cattle, household items, foodstuffs, and coin to the value of Rs. 1/4, 1/2, 1, 3, 6, 12, 24, and 48. No intermediate or higher sums were demanded at that time; but in the present century the rates have increased and once a fine of Rs. 5000 (about $1060 U.S.) was levied by a Badaga council in a very serious case. There are detailed regulations for the fixing and payment of fines.

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648 The relationship between the communities of the plateau was not solely

565 that it has a high status by all of the accepted criteria --- priority of settlement, wisdom, wealth, piety, and absolute size. The distinction between gentry and non-gentry is sufficiently precise that all Badaga families can be allotted to the one category or the other by everyone who knows them. I estimate that during the present century roughly five percent of the community is considered as gentry. The great bulk of the community is non-gentry because its ancestors were not known to be the first settlers in any particular hamlet, or because they were only younger sons in the gentry families.

565 595 (175) Until the middle of the 19th Century, the most prestigious gentry family was the largest family possible. To achieve this ideal men would often have polygynous marriages: in one case (probably a record number for all Badagas) a man had five wives simultaneously, during the early years of this century. In such families it is --- or was --- common for some of the wives to be several decades younger than the husband, in which case they might present him with sons of which he was probably aware that he was not the biological father. Today polygyny is no longer common; nevertheless I know of a gentry family where the husband is now 86 years old, and the youngest of his three wives is 19.

178 565 There was, during the latter part of the last century, a transitional phase in the condition of the gentry, when neither the size of the family nor its wealth was the important determinant of its status; its influence derived primarily from its "strength of character", I was told. This change seems to mark the beginning of a break-away from traditional values which, as we shall see, gained pace in the years following 1913. In the present century all Badaga families, whether considered gentry or not, gain a prestige commensurate with their wealth. If a family is unusually wealthy it now receives the respect and wields the power of a gentry

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463 554 [515] all pubic hair (though Badaga women do it for themselves) because it is thought unesthetic and is found to harbor lice and ticks. The disgrace attached to this occupation is well displayed in one of the great expressions of Badaga disdain: "What can you do? -- You can't even shave my cock!" Badagas who are forced to take up barbering because of poverty never make a full-time occupation of it, especially as professional barbers are now generally available from other communities. So far as scavenging is concerned, there is no need at all to remove night soil from the houses, because Badagas always defecate either in the fields and bushes, or in a special manure pit. The feces of small children are not considered polluting and are easily removed from the house by anyone. All other cleaning and sweeping around the house is done by the womenfolk living there.

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•178 565 Those Badagas who are neither gentry nor in the poverty-stricken category show some signs of having achieved upward mobility over the past century or so. There was traditionally a class of gentry, as we know, that was distinguished by higher prestige and higher behavioral expectations. On the other hand there was in all likelihood no class of poverty-stricken Badagas obliged to become barbers or launderers until land pressure and the settlement of boundaries in the 1880's had made it difficult for the disinherited and landless to find new farming land. Only in the 80 or 90 years since that period has this landless class emerged at the bottom of the status hierarchy. And as it emerged, the prestige of the gentry was continuously on the wane. Both changes were related, as we shall see, to increasing Badaga involvement in the Indian cash economy. The middle class of peasant families seems slowly to have decreased the gap in conduct and prestige that separated them from the gentry families; until now the cash income of a family is the clearest mark of its influence in the community. The aristocratic values of

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the gentry are now of little relevance; and the gentry with most prestige today are those who have adapted best to the opportunities of the cash economy.

241 cription. Jungle clearings often lay fallow for several years. Weeding, like manuring, was also restricted for the most part to crops growing near the home.

[492] Prior to 1913 there was almost no terracing of the hill-slopes, and most of the tilling was done by plows drawn by pairs of oxen (Grigg 1880: 470). Coffee and tea were being grown extensively by the British at that time, but the chief Badaga crops were barley, samai and korali (the latter two being millets). No 178 311 figures are readily available for the total area of land under crop by Badagas in those days: it was reportedly little below the present amount. In the case of the administrative "village" of Sholur, nevertheless, some data are available and we can make a realistic comparison. This village is typical of Badaga settlements and has hardly changed its official boundaries since the land settlement of 1884:

Total village area, 1884:	22,320 acs.
Total village area, 1962:	22,942 acs.
[423] Registered patta lands, 1884:	2,257 acs., all held by Badagas
Estimate of patta lands, 1962:	4,000 acs., nearly all held by Badagas
Number of pattas, 1884:	49 single ones, 63 joint registrations (i.e. total of 112 pattas)
Number of pattas, 1962:	372 total
[161] Population, 1881:	1772 total
Population, 1951:	5278 total (more recent figures not available)
Estimate of crop acreage, 1880-81:	1850 acs.
Estimate of crop acreage, 1962:	1500 acs.

(Sources -- McIver & Stokes 1883; Benson 1884; Arputhanathan 1953: 43; Subrahmanyam 1962: 3-4.)

178 From this comparison evidence of several important changes emerges:

[161] a) in 70 years the population has tripled;

[423] b) in 80 years the number of registered land holdings (pattas) has more than tripled;

[423] c) in 80 years the acreage of patta land has doubled (through release of

178 government-held reserves);

(423) d) fragmentation of holdings has thus been taking place;

(311) e) the estimate of total cultivated acreage in 1962 was slightly below that for 1880-81.

128 Some official figures can be presented, in addition to these, to illustrate the shift in importance of various crops in the entire plateau area. These figures come from two different sources (Francis 1908: 164, and Madras 1949: 976), and show the percentage of the total cultivated area devoted to each crop. The earlier figures apparently relate to the year 1905-06, and the later ones to 1940-41, 35 years later.

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	COONOOR TALUK (Paranginad & Merkunad)		OOTACAMUND TALUK (Todanad & Kunda)	
	1905-06	1940-41	1905-06	1940-41
Mainly Subsistence Crops:				
Wheat	1.7%	2.8%	2.9%	3.3%
Barley	5.4	2.7	3.4	4.2
Ragi	1.5	1.9	7.1	4.5
Samai	14.7	6.3	4.3	6.2
Other grains	13.1	0.7	27.8	1.1
Pulses	--	1.9	--	0.5
Cash Crops:				
Vegetables (mainly potato) and fruits	5.2% (potato: 4.8%)	18.6%	3.9% (potato: 3.7%)	30.3%
Spices, condiments	0.3	0.7	0.9	1.1
Coffee	44.6	25.6	18.1	15.8
Tea	7.7	42.7	12.8	32.3
Cinchona	1.1	0.08	10.9	4.0
Miscellaneous "industrial" plants	4.7	5.9	7.9	6.6

128 241 It may be objected that while the figures for each taluk in 1905-06 total 100%, those for 1940-41 total somewhat more than 100%. This discrepancy reflects one important change in the 35-year period: double-cropping became a fairly com-

128 241 mon practice. Thus two crops represented above by separate figures would sometimes be growing simultaneously on the same piece of land. (All percentages are based on acreage.)

128 178 241 311 Our main problem in interpreting these figures arises from the fact that we cannot be certain how much of the land under these crops was in fact owned by Badagas. A majority of the cultivable land in these areas has always belonged to the Badagas; just how much, has not been calculated. Even so, we can be certain that virtually all of the land under subsistence crops during this century was farmed by Badagas; this was also true of land growing market vegetables and fruits. A majority of the land devoted to tea, coffee and cinchona, on the other hand, was in British-owned plantations. Coffee turned out not to be too successful a crop in many parts of the plateau, and so the land was later given over to tea. This fact, together with the appearance of Badaga tea plantations from about 1925 onward, accounts for the great increase in tea acreage over the 35-year period (Ranga 1934: 18-22).

311 423 It might be illuminating at this point to cite an example of one administrative "village" in Merkunad -- Ketti Village -- which reflects how much of the plateau land was owned by Badagas. The figures that are available come from the 1881 Land Settlement records, and show how the 7993 acres of this particular "village" were distributed in the years prior to the Badagas' adoption of a cash economy:

Badaga farming lands	5157 acs.
Badaga grazing ground	496 acs.
Toda grazing lands	128 acs.
Village sites	222 acs.
Government forest areas	296 acs.
An Anglo-Indian orphanage and school	762 acs.
Estates (mainly British-owned)	440 acs.
Government cinchona plantation	5 acs.
Available for sale	487 acs.

(Source -- Benson 1881: 188-89.)

311 From these figures it is clear that this plateau area, by no means an atypical one,
423 was farmed largely by Badagas. (The 487 acs. of land "for sale" is somewhat misleading: this was mostly on steep rocky slopes ill-suited to any cultivation.)

Let us now return to the figures on crop acreage (p. 96).

178 What were the most important changes in the crop-pattern between 1905
241 and 1940, the two years for which data are available? Wheat, barley, ragi and spices changed very little in importance. A small acreage of pulses appeared in the later figures only. Cinchona lost some of its importance, but this was mainly on British-owned plantations. Miscellaneous "industrial" plants, primarily eucalyptus, maintained a stable acreage. The very slight fluctuations in all of these figures tell us very little. But other fluctuations are much greater, and much more illuminating. Samai, korali and some other millets lost much of their significance in the eyes of the Badagas, although these crops had previously been among the traditional staples. The land was planted with potatoes instead, especially after the start of the 1914-1918 War. In the 35-year period examined potatoes, together with some other quite minor vegetables, increased their acreage some five- or six-fold. Badagas do not eat much potato; clearly they sacrificed most of the acreage traditionally devoted to staple grains in order to grow marketable vegetables (Ranga 1934: 68). By the Second World War only 3% of the entire Nilgiri population subsisted mainly on millets; the other 97% depended on rice (Krishnaswami 1947: 464).

Some major changes also occurred over this period in the plantations; but these changes affected Badagas less. The importance of cinchona decreased as malaria became less of a problem and cures other than quinine appeared in India. Coffee, while still a major crop in 1940-41, had not been too successful and so lost some of its former eminence; but tea, conversely, had increased in importance

just as much as the potato had. For our study of change it is significant that tea, coffee and cinchona, like the potato, presuppose a market beyond the Nilgiris. The plantation crops called for more expertise than Badagas could usually manage, and so were largely confined to European land-holdings; even so, some Badagas were growing tea in the late 1920's. But potatoes were relatively easy for Badagas to grow, especially as a government farm in the District helped them with seeds, fertilizers and advice. During the past 40 years some of the more enterprising Badagas have also successfully managed to cultivate tea and coffee in areas both small and large:

> The cultivation of tea by Badagas is increasing very rapidly. The fact that the value of land rises after tea is planted plays an important part in the popularisation of tea growing... In the Salarda valley, there is a Badaga woman who is developing seed-beds of tea on quite a large scale and there are many Badagas who are cultivating excellent nurseries. (Ranga 1934: 18-19)

Chemical fertilizers were first used by a few Badagas in the early 1920's; before that only cow-dung and human refuse had been available (Grigg 1880: 468; Ranga 1934: 14). The use of these new chemicals was of great importance, for it led to much higher yields in the new vegetable crops and so helped confirm Badagas in the belief that growing food for the market was a really profitable occupation. Insecticides and improved seeds, particularly potatoes, were also willingly accepted by the growers.

Improvements in the areas of fertilizer, insecticide and seed were followed almost immediately by the construction of terraces on some of the sloping fields. Progress in terracing was much slower than in the adoption of the other innovations, however, because it demanded a much greater capital outlay than most farmers could afford (Grigg 1880: 470). Even today many cultivated slopes that badly need terracing because of soil erosion still remain to be terraced. In the past few years the situation

241 has greatly improved, it is worth noting, because the state government has made loans available on relatively easy terms for the purpose of having field terraces constructed.

Because of terracing in many places, and widespread subdivision, fields are often so small that it would be markedly inefficient to plow them at any time (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). For the past 25 years, therefore, the plow and oxen have ceased to be used in the Nilgiri Hills. Much of the work-load formerly carried by oxen is now taken by the spades of cheap migrant laborers from the plains: men work for daily wages of Rs. 1.75, equivalent to about 35¢ U.S., and women for about 30¢.

While the profits from potato, tea and coffee are very much higher per acre than those from the traditional grain crops, the risks are also much higher. Not only does a farmer need ready cash to buy seed or cuttings, fertilizer and labor, but he may need cash to feed his family if disease ruins the crop for one season. Here the cooperative societies set up by the state government have helped the Badagas greatly. Both short- and long-term loans are available, against land or house securities, for all members of the societies (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). The societies have thus gone far in protecting Badagas from the high interest-rates of private money-lenders; some societies even help farmers by supplying seeds, fertilizers, and modern implements at cost prices.

Marketing

Traditionally the Badagas, Kotas and Todas occupied a very peripheral position in a market economy: before the British reached the Nilgiris annual trading expeditions to the market at Gundlupet, in Mysore, or to Erramadai, were the source for the few requirements not otherwise available in the Hills. Such

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requirements were mainly salt, sugar, tobacco and a few trinkets. Cloth might either be obtained at the market or would be brought up into the Nilgiri villages from the Coimbatore Plain by an itinerant Chetti trader (Ward 1821: lxv). The establishment of a bazaar in Ootacamund during the 1820's, and later of others in Coonoor, Wellington, Kotagiri, Ketti and Manjūr, made consumer goods available to the Badagas on a scale and in a variety never before known to them. The desire to acquire some of these new items was presumably one factor in the drive towards greater participation in the cash economy.

Yet the transition took a century to complete. All of the basic requirements for food, goods and services continued to be provided either by the efforts of the Badagas themselves or by their Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. From the 1820's onwards the Badagas attended the local markets for what they had previously bought in Gundlupet or Kīramaḍai -- salt, sugar, tobacco and trinkets -- but they never sold very much in the markets, and so they rarely had much cash to spend. With the First World War, however, changes in their marketing practices became more apparent. The crucial demand for vegetables to feed the many European troops in India, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon stimulated the change in crops that we have described above (pp. 94-99): Badagas began exporting potatoes and other vegetables to these remote places, and some made handsome profits (Francis 1908: 167).

The cash that came in from this new venture was spent in a great variety of ways. The most obvious was in buying new clothes: in the 1920's men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930's women first started to wear colored saris. A few of the more resourceful men invested their incomes in more land or houses, thus laying a stable foundation for future genera-

454 tions.

The period between the two World Wars saw the rise not only of wealthy
178 Badaga land-owners, but also of labor contractors. A few men profited by getting
(556) contracts to build roads or construct public buildings in the District. Two patterns
(454) of reinvestment were common among such men: one was in land (Ranga 1934: 10), even in tea and coffee estates; the other was in college education for their sons. Less wealthy Badagas during the same period set themselves up as small shop-keepers or money-lenders, or, hired themselves out as builders, carpenters, water-carriers and even coolies (Francis 1908: 129; Ranga 1934: 8).

426 For many Badagas with small land-holdings, this period of transition was
(178) marked by the frustrations of indebtedness. Pieces of land were sometimes sold to non-Badagas in order to pay off outstanding debts; but in general Badaga debtors tried to honor their obligations, and worked hard either to produce profitable cash crops or to buy back their former lands (Thurston 1909: I, 64; Ranga 1934: 4; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249).

178 We may say that the take-off for economic growth within the cash economy
648 was complete by 1930, when most of the Badagas had permanently severed their
(439) traditional exchange-relationship with the Kotas. This, from the Badaga point of view, was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas were getting. This is not to say that Kotas had been receiving cash; but the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming increasingly costly to the Badagas because of rising grain prices. We shall discuss this point further when we come to consider recent factions (see Chapters VII and VIII).

178 While tea and coffee yield the highest profit per acre, they require

178 greater agricultural skill than other Nilgiri crops if they are to attain the high standards required by company purchasing agents. Moreover, they need to be produced in large enough quantity to warrant the processing and transportation to Bombay. 178 Middlemen, both Badagas and others, were therefore indispensible to the few Badagas who had ventured into tea and coffee growing in the 1920's and 1930's. 442 (241) Middlemen could act as a control on quality, and could amass sufficient produce to make a transaction with an exporter worth-while. As more and more Badagas became interested in growing crops for cash, middlemen appeared not only to buy small quantities of tea, coffee and potatoes, but also to act as agents in selling seeds and fertilizers, and even insurance.

After Independence the profiteering in which these middlemen had indulged 474 was finally checked. With state and central government aid, marketing cooperatives (442) were set up in various parts of the Nilgiris to undermine the position of the middle- (657) men by providing cheaper services (Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 249). Now there are cooperative societies which not only find markets and pool the resources of members, but provide cheap seeds, fertilizers and implements. Many such societies now own local tea-processing factories or warehouses.

Since 1957 heavy loss through potato disease has caused some of the 241 potato-growers to plant their land with tea or coffee instead. The availability of help from the marketing cooperatives has made this sudden switch in crops possible, for otherwise the initial capital outlay and the small size of most estates would make the whole venture unfeasible.

Communications

489 Steady improvements in the transportation systems have facilitated the (178) production and sale of cash crops. In the last century all goods had to be carried

Employment

463 Prior to 1913 all Badagas were primarily agriculturists; for the great ma-
592 jority of the people this is still true today. Although as much as five months of the farming year is spent non-productively (Ranga 1934: 9-10), every member of the family, even the child, makes some contribution to the traditional family economy.
241 Adults work in the fields, and are helped by boys and girls when necessary (Hark-
462 ness 1832: 114-15). Men do the heavier work, such as forking or plowing, and women do the lighter work, mainly planting, weeding and harvesting (Ward 1821: lxx, lxxiii; Ranga 1934: 8). Adolescents work as cowherds, and girls also take
241 care of small babies while the mothers are out in the fields (Harkness 1832: 113).
883 Children also do the preliminary work of cooking before the women return home
857 each day. As well as field-work, women do the main part of the cooking and are
462 responsible for all of the house-keeping, including the laundry (Jagor 1876: 201-02).
887 People too old to work in the fields stay at home minding the children and keeping an eye on what passes within the village during the day-time (Jagor 1876: 194).

•178 This pattern has been modified somewhat by the trend among the more
463 educated Badagas to work away from the village. At first a few Badagas were being employed in the towns as peons, clerks, builders and laborers, and throughout the District as teachers (Thurston 1909: I, 63; Ranga 1934: 8; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 248). During the First World War some young men worked in a muni-
(571) tions factory at Wellington. Then, in the 1920's, the first Badagas attended col-
(590) leges and returned to professional positions in the Nilgiris. Of these professionals the most influential small group have been the parliamentarians, M.P.'s and M.L.A.'s, nearly all of them coming from one family. More numerous are the doctors and lawyers. Other less well-educated Badagas who no longer follow their tradi-

178 463 tional occupations include school-teachers, local government officials, bus drivers, and factory workers.

Our sample of 301 adolescent and adult Badaga males (aged 15-85) in 1963 463 [125] had the following employment pattern; (the categories are taken from the Census of India):

I	Cultivating own or rented land	59.6%
II	Agricultural laborer	5.0%
III	Forestry and livestock	.0%
IV	Cottage industries	0.7%
V	Manufacturing	3.7%
VI	Construction	4.0%
VII	Trade and business	0.3%
VIII	Transport and communications	3.7%
IX	Teaching and "professions"	13.0%
X	Non-workers, students	10.0%

It is clear that farm-work is still the most prevalent activity; but now a substantial proportion of the men are working in occupations (Categories V to IX) that are typical of participation in a monetary economy; with the important exception of commerce itself.

Law and Administration

177 [175] [65] Since early in the 19th Century the Badagas were indirectly ruled by British administrators. Contact with the British had relatively little effect in the early years, however. The transition from a barter to a cash economy was very slow, although in the last century the British did introduce a few new crops and new tools to the Badagas. Only in the 1860's did the Badagas really feel a heavy [177] [241] impact from the presence of the British. Two things happened at that time. One was the appearance of a separate Badaga Christian community encouraged and protected by the local Englishmen; the other was the legal end to slash-and-burn cultivation and the fixing of all field boundaries.

177 Until the end of the last century Badagas sedulously avoided the British
178 legal system and its officers. The traditional Badaga system, which we described earlier (pp. 29-43), continued to operate effectively. In the following chapter we
121 shall describe the social change which came about during the present century when Badagas were obliged to adapt their legal system so as to make use of the official Indian one too.

657 Local government under the British was in practice confined for the most
(631) part to the municipalities. Some police stations were established in rural areas,
(625) and local roads were constructed; but in general there was little attempt to im-
(871) prove the lot of the Badagas. In a few villages the presence of free mission schools from 1857 onward nevertheless did much to raise the standard of education (cf. Grigg 1880: 423-26).

After Independence, on the other hand, the Indian government began to pay a great deal of attention to developing the rural sector of the country. The Nilgiris was not selected for inclusion in the areas subjected to intensive community development in the early 1950's, but local panchayat offices were set up in the administrative "villages" of the Nilgiris, and began the dissemination of information and the improvement of basic services. The Badagas were classified as a "Backward Class" and received special help in these matters from the Harijan
(312) Welfare Department. Today most villages, as a result of these efforts, have a
(491) fairly hygienic supply of running tap-water, a track connecting them with the main
(365) roads, and an electricity supply. Many villages have started their own coopera-
(474) tive society, through which they get loans and agricultural supplies against the security of their lands or houses.

177 Certain pieces of legislation often regarded as milestones in the recent

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER VII

SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY (Continued)

The Position of the Badagas in Nilgiri Society Today

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The traditional system of cultural interdependence linking the indigenous communities is a system so complex and yet so loosely organized in structure that it has changed to varying extents in different parts of the Nilgiris during this century. Some of the indigenous peoples, such as the Kotas, are much more eager than others to activate the traditional relationships; some, like the Badagas, are much more dependent than others on the cash economy. Why this should be so can not be explained by one uniform factor. The availability of a nearby labor market, close bus routes to town, the tribal residence patterns and the relative closeness of particular tribal settlements, are all important factors in determining the extent to which the Badagas of any one hamlet have dropped their traditional ties with the other indigenous groups.

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Thus, to cite one example, the Badagas of the Kunda region (some 20 miles south of Ootacamund) tend to be more conservative in outlook than Badagas elsewhere, since it is mainly these Kunda Badagas who still normally invite a Kota band to play at their ceremonies, and who in other ways activate their ties with the nearby Kota village. Elsewhere in the Nilgiris the great majority of Badagas eschew contact with Kotas because, while they recognize this contact as a traditional link, they now consider it demeaning for them. A "modern" Badaga who wants to be

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178 regarded as a fairly orthodox Saivite would not want to be seen at a funeral where
648 Kotas play dance-music beside the corpse: not only have the Kotas become "un-
touchable" musicians, but Hindu orthodoxy frowns upon the idea of dancing at a
(629) funeral. The attitudes of many Badagas toward Kotas -- as well as toward Todas
and Kurumbas -- have changed in recent years: our "modern" Badaga is now
thinking of himself, in the economic and religious spheres of his life, as more of
a Hindu citizen and less of a Nilgiri tribesman; and his social distance from Kotas
and Kurumbas has now been increased, since they fall into the status of Untouch-
ables, from his view-point. The new orientation seems appropriate to a Badaga
who finds himself competing for jobs or for official favors with people from all
184 over southern India. It is noteworthy that the "conservative" Badagas of the Kunda
area (<u>cf.</u> p. 111) are by far the wealthiest villagers in the District, for nearly all
of their land is given over to flourishing tea and coffee plantations. This contin-
uing source of wealth and employment is so certain that the people there do not
feel themselves in serious competition for work or for official favors with men
(648) from other parts of India. Their confidence in their future well-being allows
them to continue at least their ceremonial links with the Kotas. Few tools are
178 now made by the local Kotas, on the other hand, because these particular Kotas
648 are preoccupied with their own tea plantations, and the great quantity of specia-
lized metal items needed on a plantation has necessarily to be sought in the town
markets. In summary, both the Kotas and the Badagas in this part of the Nilgiris
activate their traditional relationship only so far as economic expediency permits:
where the market offers the same article at a lower price, or where one's labor
can be spent more profitably on plantation work than on some traditional obliga-
tion, the traditional link falls into abeyance.

178 648

Similar utilitarian adaptations to new possibilities opened up by an expanding cash economy are to be observed in nearly every aspect of the traditional relationships, not only between Badagas and Kotas, but between the other tribes as well. Todas -- to mention another case -- in many parts of the Nilgiris no longer take the trouble to make their annual rounds of the neighboring Badaga villages, for they know that so many Badagas will deny them their traditional dues that the material gains no longer make the journey worth-while. Badagas, for their part, never request the Todas to come and take their gifts, and now only rarely seek out a Toda friend if some particular article is really needed from him.

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Stated in its most general terms, therefore, the situation in the Nilgiris is now such that the Badagas and the other indigenous groups are still cognizant of having been linked by a complex pattern of interdependence; yet now feel themselves under little compunction to maintain a relationship that is clearly becoming less feasible economically. Today the Badagas are taking the lead in finding and internalizing new cultural orientations, orientations which help them to secure a place in the economy and society of the entire Indian nation, though at the expense of their traditional place in Nilgiri life. To put this in another way, we can state that many Badagas now maintain a positive orientation to urban Tamilian culture (particularly as its values are reflected in films), while many Kotas and Kurumbas, and even a few Todas, now treat the Badaga farmers as their positive reference group. The new urban orientation of the Badagas is one that places a positive value on the products of modern technology, the seeking of monetary profit, good education, and in general on behavior that they think would be acceptable in an urban context.

578 691 place the poison effectively.

Changing Patterns of Marriage and Residence

177 615 582 The recent changes in the Nilgiris that we have described have left the phratry system of the Badagas relatively untouched. There have been several minor but interesting exceptions to this statement, however. During the present century a few Wodeyas, Kapakkas and Adikaris have arranged marriages with Lingayat girls from Mysore -- usually from Mysore City itself. Only with improved transportation and literacy have such marriages become possible; they reflect a move toward closer ties with orthodox Lingayatism in its Mysore home-land.

Since 1950 there have been occasional marriages between a Badaga Christian girl and a Ganda boy. Earlier in the century such unions would have been unthinkable; now they occur among "progressive" Badagas who have typically experienced a college education. The ancestry of the girl is still expected to trace back to the sib opposite to the boy's.

184 582 615 During the years since 1913 small minorities in nearly all of the Badaga phratries have contracted occasional marriages beyond the boundaries of the Badaga community. The important exception to this minority trend is the Toreya phratry. As we indicated earlier (pp. 67-68) some epidemic catastrophe early in this century produced a great imbalance in the size of the two Toreya sibs. One would expect the Toreyas, under these circumstances, to follow the lead set by [595] other Badagas and arrange marriages with families in Mysore. The Toreyas, however, are relatively conservative, and have chosen to weather out their crisis by allowing men of the smaller sib to practice polygyny whenever they can afford it.

178 583 If changing patterns of alliance have altered Badaga social structure very

• 178 little, changing criteria in marriage arrangements have nevertheless made a pro-
583 found impact. The appearance of dowry transactions in a society which previously demanded only a type of bride-price is the most outstanding instance of a whole complex of changing criteria.

583 [584] In arranging a marriage, the boy's family always pays honnu to the girl's family before the wedding. Honnu thus has the character of a bride-price; but this is not a good English translation for the term. Today the honnu is two hundred rupees; in the 1930's and 1940's it was Rs. 150 (Ranga 1934: 3; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 250); at the beginning of this century it was about Rs. 100 (Tignous 1911: 119); early in the last century it was "on an average between twenty and twenty-five rupees" (Harkness 1832: 42), or "15 to 20 rupees" (Ward 1821: lxxi).

(458) With rising prices the honnu has also been increasing steadily; yet it is not really thought of as a bride-price at all. The Badagas are explicit that the money is to
583 585 be spent on gold ornaments with which to bedeck the bride when she leaves her own home to join her new husband; for without certain customary ornaments the marriage cannot be performed. Thus the groom's family ensure that the celebration will go ahead by supplying the cost of these gold ornaments. At a later time,
586 if divorce occurs, the wife has to return to her husband the ornaments or the Rs. 200, together with any other "gifts" of clothing or jewelry that he may have made (Harkness 1832: 116-17; Metz 1864: 86-87; Thurston 1909: I, 105-06; Tignous 1911: 119).

583 The system of paying honnu still continues, but dowry has become an additional requirement in some recent marriages. The general reason for this is that young Badaga men show much greater variation both in their family's wealth
(582) and in their own potentiality to earn than was true prior to this century. In earlier

days the most affluent and prestigeful families were the gentry, and gentry boys normally married only the daughters of the gentry. Today a wealthy Badaga, whether of the gentry or not, will often be willing to pay a dowry in order to marry his daughter into another wealthy family.

The wealthiest of Badaga families today are not necessarily members of the gentry at all, although formerly this was always true. It is the wealthy parvenus who have recently supplanted the traditional gentry in the ability to wield maximum influence and political power. How have such families become wealthy? As we have seen (Chapter VI), some have been able to plant large areas with tea or coffee, and these estates have brought in tremendous profits; others have become contractors for various building projects -- the Nilgiri railway and the army barracks being major cases of this. Others again are middlemen, distributing fertilizers or dealing in potato crops. Yet others have been making money from the large-scale distribution of illicitly made liquor, ever since prohibition was instituted directly after Independence. Regardless of the way in which the money was acquired in the first place, it is wherever possible invested in tea or coffee plantations, or perhaps in privately owned bus-lines. Such new-found capital is sometimes invested in Badaga businesses in Ootacamund or Coonoor, as well. Another type of investment is in the support of sons studying at universities; and this can bring high prestige to a family in a short period of time. Men who can obtain degrees in medicine or law are assured a high social position in the Nilgiris, but those who manage to get only a B.A. or a B.Sc., whether by bribery or by hard work, find that it brings some prestige but rarely any additional income. Upwardly mobile families now wish their sons to take at least a bachelor's degree, but afterwards expect the graduates to settle down in their home villages again and

554 871 farm the land rather than try to use their academic knowledge more profitably elsewhere.

It is these wealthy families who have led the way in introducing the idea 581 583 of brides bringing a handsome dowry to their grooms. The custom is well known to Badagas because the Tamilians and Kanarese typically practice it. Payment of 178 177 dowry also seems appropriate when a boy's family has benefitted him with the prestigeful expense of a university education, for his high social status promises 810 secure support and enhanced status for the girl. While several hundred Badaga youths have now acquired college degrees, scarcely a dozen girls have. Hence nobody yet expects to be married to a girl whose intellectual training has gone beyond the high-school level. Girls, on the other hand, have a choice between secondary-educated and tertiary-educated husbands. Ability of a girl's father to pay a substantial dowry is one method of ensuring a prestigeful marriage with a college graduate, and so providing her with a husband capable of supporting her adequately in the changing conditions of the modern world. Dowry is not an old Badaga custom at all; but it is now fashionable in the context of what the Badagas conceive to be modern India.

We must remember that the traditional marriage preference was for a 582 cross-cousin; whether this was the father's sister's daughter or the mother's brother's daughter, a Badaga youth more often than not found her in the very hamlet where his married sister lived. This is still quite common today: either he marries his sister's husband's sister, or else a related neighbor of that husband. 584 The practical problems in finding go-betweens and arranging a marriage alliance can be resolved more easily in this way: the boy has the excuse of visiting his sister while getting a chance to contact and evaluate prospective brides, and the

584 fathers of those girls can feel more secure about arranging a marriage with a
(583) family already linked to the hamlet through previous marriages. A reciprocal exchange of women between two sibs -- and specifically between these two hamlets -- thus becomes a more tangible and acceptable pattern of behavior.

583 The intrusion of a demand for dowry into this situation can be an unpleasant change: two families, lineages or hamlets which have exchanged several daughters in marriage have established an alliance which proclaims their social equality. If one side seeks dowry it may rupture the stability they have achieved over a period of several generations; for dowry is taken to imply a kind of social inequality between the two parties. Paying dowry for a progressive, educated groom is like purchasing security for one's daughter.

•(178) The reciprocal nature of alliances and the traditions of Badaga marriage are still being adhered to as far as possible. For this reason, if no other, the payment of dowry is supposed to be a "secret", and the recipient of it is still obliged to pay the Rs. 200 honnu. Among those who are wealthy enough to demand
556 or pay a dowry, however, fulfilment of their traditional roles in Badaga society
156 can become a problem-laden, even anachronistic, burden. Some of these men now command annual incomes a hundred or more times greater than the average
(557) income of other men in their home village. As a consequence of this newly risen inequality the wealthy are constantly being plagued by importunate villagers and distant relatives, as well as Toda and Kota friends, who try to activate the traditional bonds of friendship or kinship in order to maximize their share in the power
(166) and influence of the nouveaux riches. It is therefore not surprising to find that the wealthiest Badagas have been the first to leave their natal village and build themselves comfortable houses in the towns or in the middle of their tea estates.

177 As the wealth of such families increases, and as the possibility of their upward
556 mobility, as modern Indian families rather than as Badaga villagers, becomes a
829 reality, their attitudes toward Nilgiri society and its marriage regulations change. No longer are the requirements of the traditional culture so demanding or so relevant; for these people are now oriented towards a larger South Indian society, a society whose aims and ideals are stated -- albeit in exaggerated form -- in the morality and cultural equipment of modern romantic Indian films.

Religious Change since 1913

178 Four kinds of religious change have affected various sections of the Badaga community during the present century. These changes are not directly related to each other, and need to be considered separately:

1) Bhajan and Kriśna worship have become popular;

2) The Lingayats have developed their previously tenuous ties with Lingayats in Mysore State;

3) A few distinctively Tamilian and Kanarese festivals and rituals have been adopted;

4) A Roman Catholic community has appeared among the Badaga Christians.

These developments will each be discussed in turn.

796 1) Bhajan and Kriśna worship are new to the Badagas: Kriśna is
(796) a Vaiśnavite deity, the Badagas are Śaivites. The performance of bhajan (group
(795) hymns) began among Badagas some 20 or 25 years ago; so popular has it now become, nevertheless, that nearly every hamlet has one or more sets of bhajan instruments, and there is a regular -- often a weekly -- performance of the sacred
533 songs. Bhajan songs are devotional hymns, generally in praise of the lord Kriśna;
177 they are played on the instruments of Tamilnād, not of the Nilgiris, and the words

177 533 are Tamil, not Badagu. Very many of the Badaga hamlets have built a bhajan house specifically for use during evenings of devotion. Such houses are owned by the hamlet in common and are considered as temples. Inside the bhajan house will be a number of lithographic prints of Kriśna and other gods, and perhaps an image. During the course of a devotional evening, puja will be done to the image or to some of the lithographs. Not everyone in a hamlet is interested in the bhajan form of worship, however; but its popularity is clearly increasing, for it has its strongest following among the village youths. Once a year small donations are offered for the support of the bhajan group by every household in the hamlet where it is performed. An increasing interest in bhajans has been noted elsewhere in South India (cf. Singer 1959: 148-49).

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177 195 2) Lingayats, too, have developed their ties with the plains. Before this century they knew little about the Vīraśaiva religion in their Mysore home-land. Perhaps once a year a Lingayat guru would wander up into the Nilgiris from Nanjangud (so says Harkness 1832: 137); but whatever he might be able to teach about the Lingayat faith would have to be transmitted entirely by word of mouth. In the 20th Century, on the other hand, the Badaga Lingayats have become literate, and some of them read books on Lingayat philosophy quite avidly. Cheap transportation has also enabled them to make pilgrimages to some of the places that are sacred in Vīraśaiva belief, and to meet well-informed monks and Jangamas in the towns of Mysore State.

177 562 (578) One significant fruit of this increased contact has been the occurrence of a number of marriages, during the present century, between Badaga Lingayat men and Kanarese Lingayat girls; even a few of the conservative Wodeyas have taken this step. The move for marital links with Mysore has not been met with equanimity by

186 578 797 798 Christian group but also toward the Hindus (Périe 1932: 1-8).

This situation continued with little change until after 1947, by which time the Catholics were almost as numerous as the Protestants. Independence brought new factors into play, however. Conversion of Hindus to either Christian sect virtually ceased with national Independence, as did most conversion of Protestants to Catholicism. While there are still some points of disagreement between members of the two churches (preëminently in ecclesiastical matters), as there are between Christians and Hindus, these are being obfuscated as other cultural orientations become more relevant to the changing conditions of life in the Nilgiris. There are now some indications in casual conversation that the cultural orientations of the Badagas are being adapted to a newly emerging pattern of social solidarity; one which links all Badagas, whether Christian or Hindu, in the face of competition with all other Indians. Some Hindu Badagas, for example, were willing to tell me that "The Christians set us a good example"; by these words they were alluding to the standards of honesty, hard work, education, and "progressive" treatment of their women for which the Christians are noted (cf. Ranga 1934: 5-6). The Badaga community is now always called a "caste", and its members are more strongly aware of their identity as "Badagas", a community which the Government shows particular concern and beneficence for by treating as a "Backward Class". The chances of material benefit through better employment opportunities which, a century ago, prompted a few Badagas to change their attitudes sufficiently to become Christians, now prompt their descendants to alter other orientations not closely related to religious values but rather to a government and its new classification of employment priorities. Such a change in orientation holds out the chance of upward mobility; but in that process conversion to Christianity is now an anachronistic mechanism.

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178 have also disappeared (Emeneau 1938: 104-05). The Badagas are attempting to in-
648 crease the social distance between themselves and their more backward and polluting Kota neighbors (Mandelbaum 1960: 302-03).

665 Another factional dispute, which lasted for nearly a quarter century prior to Independence, was a political one: political behavior in that period took the form of a factional division. Although many hamlets were not concerned with political questions at all, the more informed ones -- with higher literacy and closer links to the towns or missions -- tended to align themselves either with the Indian National Congress and the independence movement, or with the Justice Party and a reliance on the British admi-
(578) nistration of India. At the most violent phase of this faction's history, from Gandhi's salt satyagraha in 1930 to the outbreak of war in 1939, most of the Badaga hamlets were involved in the dispute, and the two factions would not eat or speak together, would sometimes have separate hamlet headmen and celebrate festivals separately, would forbid intermarriage across the cleavage, and would give vent to occasional outbreaks of violent fighting.

578 We have already seen how the dispute over the use of Kota music reinforced
615 an existing factional division over the status of Haruvas. The political dispute we
665 have just described was in practice yet another facet of the dispute over Haruva superiority: the people who supported the Haruva claim were the same people who supported the Indian National Congress. The reason for this is not difficult to see: in Madras Presidency the Justice Party was an anti-Brahmin party; its support depended strongly on the apparent preponderance of Brahmins in the Congress, and on the comparative ease with which the Brahmin minority was getting government employment (to the envy of most non-Brahmins). The great majority of people in the Presidency were not Brahmins, and looked upon Brahmins as incursors from North India. In the Nilgiris the dispute over Haruva superiority thus assumed a political

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of Socio-Cultural Changes

121 We are now at the point where the nature of change among Badagas needs to be described in broader outline, so that it may be compared with the patterns of change documented in other parts of India. As in the preceding chapters, we shall confine our interest to changes which have occurred since 1913.

177 The cultural adjustments that Badagas have made to a changing Indian economy have relied heavily on their adoption and adaptation of alien customs and techniques. Social changes among the Badagas have been similar to changes elsewhere in India, but have at the same time been worked out independently by the Badagas to suit their own peculiar situation.

177 Agricultural change during recent decades occurred after Badagas, no
178 longer permitted to clear new land in the jungles, opted to reap the rich fruits of a
(241) cash market in need of fresh vegetables, and later of tea and coffee. The community was never coerced into making this important change; but because the people did choose to enter this new kind of economic relationship with non-Badagas, they
(242) became involved in a long string of connected cultural changes. To succeed in growing a cash crop -- and success was imperative if people were not to starve -- the Badagas were obliged to learn new ideas about seed fertility, chemical fertilizers, terracing, and field lay-out; they had to adopt new types of tool, and discard

the traditional ox-drawn plow (Ranga 1934: 11); and as a result of these technological changes Badagas had to develop new kinds of laboring patterns, involving contractors and non-Badaga workers. A whole nexus of new social relationships emerged: foodstuffs had to be bought in shops, cash had to be borrowed wherever it might be had, agents and middlemen had to be sought out and dealt with, lowland laborers had to be employed, European planters and government farming advisers had to be consulted, educated opinion had to be sought out.

In the early years of this century a new way of life was being developed by the Badaga farmers. It was a way of life in which they could readily perceive that certain elements from the traditional culture were no longer practicable. The close and important tie with the Kotas was a case in point: Badagas often did not grow the millet crops they were customarily expected to give to the Kotas, and the rising grain prices led to a situation where traditional Kota products could be obtained much more cheaply by purchase in a bazaar. Finally, around the year 1928, relations with the Kotas were formally broken off by a majority of Badagas.

The initial change in agricultural practices led to other kinds of sociocultural change, too. These stemmed primarily from the fact that the Badagas were successful in their new ventures, and as a consequence were making cash profits on a scale never previously possible. New avenues for spending opened up, and new consumer goods appeared in the Badaga hamlets. Those who could find more land to buy did so: this is a familiar theme among the nouveaurriches of rural India (cf. Epstein 1962: 85 ff.). But not very much land has changed hands in this century, and few new areas have been opened up for farming recently. Profits have therefore necessarily been invested in other ways: large new houses have been built, watches, radios and other consumer goods have been brought into the

178 community, and the education of one's sons have become new indicators of social
(454) status and agricultural success.
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The easier access to wealth and higher education in the decades since 1913
(212) has brought further socio-cultural changes to the Badagas. For an agricultural community in India they have an unusually high rate of literacy (77.8% of males, 51.8% of females in 1963) and of knowledge about the nation, the government and international affairs. Much of this information is no more than conversation material; but it sometimes becomes relevant when unusual decisions have to be taken, or new regulations dealt with: how to get a loan for terracing fields, or where to go for a scholarship,
(184) for example. University education has led to the appearance of a new urban class of Badagas, who may still live in the natal village, but who maintain offices in the towns where they practice as doctors, lawyers or businessmen. A few Badagas are prominent in state and national politics, too. A random sample of 301 males in 1963 in-
(871) cluded 9.6% who had attended college.

These economic changes have taken place against a backdrop of steadily
489 improving communications media. All of the more populous villages are linked with
(178) the towns by regular bus services. There has been a railway service to the plains since the beginning of the century. Many of the middlemen who sell fertilizers or buy potatoes have their own trucks. A few of the more successful tea-growers
177 possess cars or jeeps as well. Most Badagas now spend one day a week in the nearest market town, where they not only buy provisions but also talk to acquaintances in the tea-shops, pick up the latest gossip, and see a Tamil film. Radio is used mainly as a channel for hearing light music, and is not so important as the films in introducing new, primarily urban, values and wants to the Badagas. It is probably no exaggeration to say that today every Badaga hamlet has easy access to

177 information about occupations and attitudes in urban centers of Madras State, either through seeing films or through talking with friends or relatives who actually work in towns, whether as "professional" men or as clerks.

177 178 691 During the present century Badagas have made much use of the official magistrate's court, and have not relied entirely on their own traditional councils. Several kinds of cultural change have contributed to this shift in emphasis: many men now know Badaga advocates or legal clerks, bus transportation to the court is quick and easy, since men stopped plowing and employed laborers their work-load has been lighter, and the profits from commercial farming often permit the villagers to engage in costly litigation.

178 619 We have seen that, apart from a small number of marriages between Badagas and people in Mysore, Badaga social structure has altered very little during this century. The few Kanarese marriages have undoubtedly stretched the definition of where the boundaries of the various endogamous units should lie; but this has not so far resulted in a loss of Badaga "identity", or a strong trend toward more and easier marriage alliances with people in Mysore. Nevertheless, although these patterns of alliance have changed very little during the present century, there has been a profound impact from changing criteria in the arrangement of marriages. The demand for dowry as well as the traditional <u>bonnu</u> ("bride-price") has marked a significant change in the attitudes of the wealthier and -- in their own view -- more progressive families. The practice of paying dowry is easily traceable to the lowland Tamilians and Kanarese; the ability to pay it stems from the new-found wealth of some Badagas; the need to pay it points to new criteria of prestige and an increased concern with establishing a daughter as a worthy and permanent member of an affluent family well able to take care of her.

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178 The closer cultural ties with the plains, that are reflected in the adoption of the dowry custom, are strongly evidenced also in recent religious changes. The Lingayats have developed closer ties with their gurus and maths (or monasteries) -- the organized "church" of Vīraśaivism -- in Mysore State. Many Badagas have begun to observe ceremonies, such as Dīpāvali, which until 30 or 40 years ago were associated only with Tamilians and Kanarese. Today most Badaga villages have regular devotional evenings at which bhajans are sung (in Tumil) and Kriśna is worshipped. Another development, unrelated to these, has been the appearance of a Roman Catholic community among the Christians.

178 Finally in this summary we must take note of the new factions that have emerged since the early years of this century. Most important was the deepening 578 of the cleavage between those supporting Wodeya superiority and those who support- 615 ed the Haruva claim: this occurred in about 1928 when the former faction threw off (618) its traditional ties with the Kotas, ostensibly because they did not want Kota music performed at funerals, while the smaller pro-Haruva faction has continued its relationship with the Kotas insofar as this is still economically feasible.

665 The only other factional division that has assumed Nilgiri-wide proportions was one that lasted for a quarter-century prior to Independence, and which separa- 578 ted Justice Party supporters from National Congress supporters. All other conflicts have been relevant only to certain sections of the Badaga community. One divided the Lingayats into two factions, those approving marriages with Kanarese Lingayats and those opposed to the practice. Another cleavage split the Protestant Christians, over the question of whether a priest should wear shoes in the church. Christians were also involved in an unusual three-way dispute in one hamlet, where converts from the Gauda, the Beda and the Kumbara phratry each claimed higher social

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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121 sification of the rural economy. This was especially true in those villages where much of the land had to remain "dry" because it could not be reached by the irrigation system. The change to a cash crop integrated what had been relatively isolated villages into the regional economy; previously they had been more economically self-sufficient. The increased range of economic relations, Epstein claims (1962: 315), was associated with a diminution of traditional economic ties within one village: farmers thought it expedient to save capital by ceasing to give customary dues to their clients. This was not simply a matter of withholding what the clients were entitled to, however, for it released them from traditional obligations and allowed them to seek better employment in the regional economy. Of the two villages studied by Epstein, the irrigated one changed its internal economic relations less than the "dry" village did. Irrigation boosted production without very much altering the traditional economic differentiation that separated farmers and their clients. By comparison, the "dry" village was obliged to diversify its economy much more, and as a result its integration with the regional economy went much further; economic relationships within that village were altered very radically.

433 621 [121] Diversification of the economy has also occurred in Badaga hamlets during the last few decades. Indeed, the most affluent and tension-free hamlets today are the ones with the most diversified economies: tea, coffee, market vegetables, eucalyptus oil and poultry are all produced in certain hamlets, and ensure a steady income there even if one or two of the items are ruined by disease or weather in any particular year. At the same time we note that in the Nilgiris the economically more "progressive" Badagas (a great majority of the community) have severed all or most of their ties with Kotas, Todas and Kurumbas, just as the more "progressive" farmers near Mandya have severed ties with their traditional clients and

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5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
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121 specialists. The Nilgiri tea and coffee growers have become integrated into the
178 South Indian cash economy at the expense of such traditional relationships.
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The trend toward diversification of the economy in the "dry" village which Epstein studied, and toward its greater integration with the regional economy, was
121 accompanied by changes of a political nature. Some villagers began to take part in political meetings in the town, and to elect their panchayats rather than accept hereditary incumbents. The change was not paralleled in the irrigated village which Epstein studied, however: there the traditional hereditary panchayats remained in operation, and there was relatively little concern with state political movements. The elected panchayat of the "dry" village does not settle disputes now: these are generally taken to court in Mandya. The traditional panchayat does settle disputes in the irrigated village, however.

632 Among Badagas, as we have seen, there are now elected panchayats which act as the organs of local government in providing basic rural facilities. The traditional panchayats are more influential in the control of behavior and the organization of festivities, however. Membership of the latter is sometimes hereditary and sometimes "selected"; often a single council has members designated by both pro-
692 cesses. The magistrate's court is now widely used in settling disputes; but at the same time the traditional council still has an important part to play in this activity.

121 Factions are not rigidly opposed in the irrigated village that Epstein studied. She regards them as "a mechanism whereby economic status may be translated into political influence" (1962: 320). As such they have changed little in their significance since the days before irrigation was available. In the "dry" village, on the other hand, factions "display the basic cleavage between innovators and conservatives" (Epstein 1962: 320). In summary, "Economic change in [the "dry"

121 village] was followed by political change, whereas the persistence of [the irrigated village's] economic structure was responsible for the persistence of its political structure" (Epstein 1962: 320).

121 578 Factional organization has a different character in the villages of the Badagas, which are unlike those of the Mandya region in not being multi-caste. The economic differential has not been an important one between Badaga factions. Perhaps the only point of close similarity between the factions of the Badagas and of the Mandya area is that some Badaga factions do reflect a cleavage between innovators and conservatives.

121 178 (648) In the Kanarese villages ritual relationships between peasant farmers and their clients have been attenuated and in some cases dropped. This parallels the situation in the Nilgiris, where many Badagas have dropped their ritual ties with the Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas. Other kinds of ritual change are not paralleled in the two areas, though: the Badagas have adopted a number of ritual observances from the Tamilians, whereas the Kanarese in the Mandya villages, although in contact with Tamilian immigrants, are not reported to have adopted any. Possibly the Tamilians living near Mandya are Untouchables; in the Nilgiris they are often Śudras or Brahmins, and as such their rituals command more respect.

121 Epstein argues (1962: 322) that the change from a subsistence to a cash economy led to the break-down of the joint family unit in the Mandya area. Fathers are now partitioning their land and giving portions for their adult sons to cultivate. The young men feel much more independence when their work is not under the control of a father or an elder brother. The situation has its parallels among the Badagas, and especially in those families where one or two sons work in the factory, the office, or in urban professions. In many instances the most successfully

121 affluent tea-growers maintain their estates as joint-family occupations: they need to pool the intellectual resources and urban contacts of all educated sons.

121 To summarize this comparison between the two studies, it is perhaps worth saying that the differences in the two areas are as important and wide-
● 118 reaching as the similarities. Both economies have emerged in recent decades from subsistence agriculture and are now producing various goods and services for cash. But how the transition has been made, what forces have initiated it, what the present techniques and cash-products are, and what is the relationship between rural producers and urban agents and officials, are questions which find quite different answers in the two cases.

121 There is one other recent study of a changing economy that is detailed enough to allow a careful comparison with the Nilgiri case. It was made in Orissa by F.G. Bailey (1958), but as it concerns tribal people living in the Kondmal Hills, and passing from a subsistence to a cash economy, their situation is perhaps more similar to that of the Badagas than was that of the Mandya villages we have just discussed.

Bailey concentrates on the economy of a single village, Bisipara, situated in the hills and inhabited mainly by Oriyas. But his discussion covers social and economic changes over about a century in the entire district, and so involves a consideration of what part the tribal Konds have played there.

The Oriya villagers remain cultivators for the most part, but their contacts with the "outside world" have increased much over the past century. "Today the cloth that men and women wear in Bisipara might be woven in Bombay or Calcutta. Some of the hoes they use are made by the Tata enterprises. The shops sell paper which is manufactured in Bengal mills. Kerosene is distributed from the rail depot

121 at Berhampur. Locks come from Aligarh..." (Bailey 1958: 229). The list contin-
(178) ues; and it is one we might as readily draw up for any Badaga hamlet. Both in the Kondmals and in the Nilgiris agriculturists now purchase goods which previously would have been made locally, or otherwise would not have been known. Both communities were "self-contained in the sense that all goods and services...could be supplied from the locality, by barter and not by money..." (Bailey 1958: 230). Bailey speaks of a "traders' frontier" as the process by which the cash economy first
(177) reached the Oriya villages. The concept is equally applicable to the Badaga hamlets, although they were able to develop contacts with local towns and factories, whereas neither town nor factory existed in the Kondmal Hills. As government and trade pushed up into the Kondmals in the mid-19th Century, Oriya villages lay along the lines of communication, and Bisipara became a local center of administration. Oriyas thus became an important link between the Kond tribesmen and the agents of government and trade, especially as it was the Oriyas who spoke the language of
(177) the plains whence the traders had come. Badagas probably fulfilled a similar role
(178) in mediation between the British and the tribal peoples; but for them it was never an important or continuing role.

Beyond this point the parallel between the Nilgiris and the Kondmals is not so close. Today the Oriyas are still concerned largely with the subsistence crop of rice. Konds divide their labor between the rice-fields and the turmeric plots which they cultivate for cash. Changes have come to the Konds because they are involved in the cash economy; but their situation is different from that of the Badagas. Turmeric, like tea or potatoes, needs an altogether new agricultural technique. The Konds succeeded in learning this; but they did not become affluent to the degree that the Badagas have become: the returns from turmeric are too small,

121 Konds and Oriyas still produce a subsistence crop, rice, whereas the great majority of Badagas do not.

Bailey makes the point that it is not the cash crop, turmeric, but wind-fall profits from trading that have been responsible for the most significant of recent changes (1958: 239). "...the more spectacular sources of wealth in the new economy--the drink-trade, merchant-shopkeeping, and trading in hides--are concentrated in the hands of a few persons..." (Bailey 1958: 238). He goes on to say that, "The mercantile economy has impinged on the system of agriculture, because those who profited as merchants, traders and earners of salaries invested their money in land" (Bailey 1958: 239).

(178) If we compare this situation with the Nilgiris we will find that the most important cash crops, tea, coffee and potatoes, are undoubtedly much more responsible than "windfall profits" for change in the Badaga villages. Government planning and urban, non-Badaga entrepreneurs have also played an important part. Also in contrast with the Kondmal Hills is the fact that few merchants--and these people are almost by definition immigrants from the plains--have been able to purchase land in Badaga hamlets.

(177)

The comparison between the Kondmals and the Nilgiris has, if anything, underlined our broad conclusions from comparing Badagas with Kanarese villagers: people in the Nilgiris, Mysore, Orissa, and indeed over much of India, have in recent decades made a transition from subsistence agriculture to fuller participation in a cash economy. Our comparison here shows that this kind of economic and social change takes many local forms, for it varies with the nature of the social organization, the means of earning cash, the role of the state government in local affairs, the ecological setting and the economic potentials of the community under study.

5: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

121 In summary, the towns of the Nilgiris have been instrumental in inducing recent social and economic changes. Towns do act as focal points for the dissemination of "modern" ideas and values, which reach the villagers either through intermediary people or through the mass communication media. Such ideas and values are not always fully accepted by the community, but they are undoubtedly of great influence, especially upon the younger, more educated men.

(2) The second regularity to be discussed in this conclusion is that major shifts in the economic activity are generally followed by changes in the family organization. It is paradoxical that Lambert's study (1963) stresses how little change there has been in the family organization; because in the case of the Badagas the changes in family structure have already gone far. Lambert's data do not distinguish between nuclear and joint families, as ours do; but he does state that factory workers support households with a higher number of dependents (the mean was 5.2 members per worker's family) than was to be found in the general population of Poona (with a mean of 4.5 members) (Lambert 1963: 39). He postulates that the relatively high earning power of factory workers attracts related dependents to their homes, people who are not members of the nuclear family. This situation is probably confined to a factory-worker class in the context of a city; it is not reflected at all in the material available for the Badagas. These people illustrate a trend, seemingly widespread in developing countries, in which the younger, more educated and urbanized men often prefer to set up their own homes and live as a nuclear family, rather than stay with the traditional joint family. The Badagas themselves recognize this trend, and explain it in terms of the changed values that have come with educational and economic betterment. In a survey of 420 Badagas, I found that 50.2% were living in nuclear families (some lacking either a spouse or children); whereas

•178 S92 [829]

178 for the same sample 22.4% were members of various types of joint family, and
572 another 2.1% were in polygamous families. The joint family, be it noted, is the traditional and "ideal" type, but in all likelihood it has never been the only pattern. The sharing of differential profits is only a part of the problem that confronts a contemporary Badaga joint household where some adult members have high earning-power and other adults low. More important is the conflict of values, the difference between traditional Badaga attitudes and "modern", urban attitudes, that now separates parents from their more educated adult sons. The new occupations which have been taken up, primarily by the younger men, are thus related to distinct changes in Badaga family organization, as the Badagas themselves can readily explain.

121 (3) A third main regularity in economic change is that the introduction of cash crops and the use of money tend to break down the traditional cooperative work patterns in a rural economy like that of the Badagas. The phenomenon has been documented in many different parts of the world (cf. Foster 1965: 34-35), and was noted by Epstein in the "dry" village of southern Mysore. We have already taken notice of this point above (pp. 134-35): the Badagas have dropped their former ties with Kotas and other associates, as a part of their adaptation to conditions in the cash economy. But what have the Kotas done in response? As Badaga farmers now need hired labor, it might be expected that Kotas would have hired themselves out for cash; but this has not been the case. Kotas own sufficient land to grow most of their food requirements; indeed, they were never entirely dependent on grain given them by the Badagas. Some Kota craftsmen have modified the traditional relationship with Badagas to a point where they still deal with the Badaga hamlets that they have always been associated with, but now services must immediately be paid for in cash. Badagas no longer grow the millets that they used to give to the Kotas;

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178 their food grain is now purchased paddy rice. If the Badagas were to give this to
648 Kotas, much additional work would be involved now: the Badaga would have to get the grain from the town bazaar to his hamlet, and then the Kota would have to carry it from there to his hamlet. This fact, coupled with the greatly increased monetary value of the traditional doles of grain, prompted the switch to cash dealings between Kotas and those Badagas who still accept their products and services (Mandelbaum 1955: 240). The Kotas, like their Badaga neighbors, have now made the transition to a cash economy; and those who are able to do so are planting potato or tea crops. Many Kotas today are not interested in keeping up these traditional economic ties with Badagas when they can be making much greater profit by devoting their time and energies to tea or potatoes. A sample of 34 male Kotas from six villages all recorded cultivation as their occupation. Several of this sample also worked as blacksmiths, toy-makers, potters or carpenters. It is clear that the Kotas have recently been able to "do without" their former economic ties with the Badagas. The factional dispute which, 35 years ago, separated a majority of the Badagas from their Kota exchange-partners, signalled the conclusive adaptation of both communities to the monetary economy.

121 (4) Factionalism is important in economic change, it would seem. The fourth regularity to be discussed in this conclusion is that rapid acculturation often leads to heightened village factionalism. J. B. Adams has described the effect of the social changes triggered by Neguib and Nasser on a particular Egyptian village: two factions emerged, one supporting the revolution and the other seeking to maintain the traditional values of the fellahin (Adams 1957: 225). This example parallels a widespread dispute among Badagas.

12 changes that began in the last century and have accelerated in this one; (2) the important shift from a subsistence economy to one based on cash transactions has been accompanied by an increased popularity of the nuclear family, although the ideal residential unit has long been the joint family; (3) the introduction of cash crops and the use of money have been associated with a break-down in the traditional patterns of cooperation linking Badagas with Todas, Kotas and Kurumbas; (4) heightened factionalism has been a concomitant of the change from a subsistence to a market economy.

Summary of Findings

• 178 At the time when the first Badagas started planting cash crops instead of the subsistence grains -- about the year 1913 -- conditions were very favorable for such an economic change. Their land was well suited to the new crops, technical information and seeds were available at the Government Farm in Nanjanad (Nilgiris), a large market was in need of the produce, and railway transportation enabled perishable goods to be shipped quickly across India.

So far as we know there was no external pressure placed upon the Badaga community to make the transition. The more affluent farmers decided that conditions were suitable for the change and took the chance with larger and larger crops. Their decision found quick reward and incentive in the profits from a suddenly expanded wartime market. Badaga potatoes and some other vegetables were shipped to European troops stationed in many parts of India, Ceylon, Burma and the Straits Settlements (Malaysia).

The effect of the cash profits was manifold. Increasing numbers of landowners were encouraged to switch to marketable vegetables. Many were able to

178 send their sons to high schools in the towns, and a few youths were even admitted to universities. Some successful farmers found ways of getting more land to plant; some invested their profits in small businesses; some became local money-lenders; some became labor contractors; a few were able to fill the need for middlemen who gather together small quantities of produce and ship them to wholesale buyers.

In time, improved facilities provided by government agricultural officers and cooperative societies helped the Badagas develop their potato crops. Since 1957 these facilities have been instrumental in making it possible for many Badaga farmers, who were financially ruined by potato diseases, to attempt a further transition from potato to tea or coffee cultivation.

With the passage of time, too, an increasing number of educated Badagas have taken jobs in factories, offices, or shops, or have become trained lawyers, doctors or teachers.

In summary, there was in the economic development of the Badagas an initial phase when some of them first seized the opportunity to operate in a cash economy. This is to some extent comparable with an initial phase of recent development in the Kondmal Hills or in the Mandya region of Mysore.

Once some success in the cash economy had brought profits to the Badaga community, reinvestment and spending took a variety of forms. The Badaga economy became increasingly differentiated, relative affluence showed great variation from one family to another, a wealth-determined class structure appeared within the community, and most Badagas sought to maximize their gains, even at the expense of traditional ties with Kota, Toda and Kurumba specialists. Modern Badagas are adopting many urban values that they associate with metropolitan Tamilians. The pattern of their economic and cultural development during this century has

178 differed in many ways from the pattern of change in Mandya or the Kondmals, but certain regularities are nevertheless apparent. Towns have clearly been the focal points of change in each area; the shift from subsistence to cash farming has been marked by some decrease in the occurrence of joint families; the shift has also brought about a break-down in the traditional cooperative work patterns of these regions; and there is some evidence that factionalism has been increasing during this period of change.

342 of other houses in the house-row. The front porch area is often converted into an airy room. As a mark of prestige, a few Badagas have erected double-storied houses. The first floors in such buildings may have a floor plan similar to the one found in the traditional house type, but the second floors have mixed rooms arranged in no set pattern. Most of these houses were built during and after World War II, and construction dates are often conspicuously displayed on their [178] fronts. An enlarging minority of Badagas now live in houses which bear no resemblance to the traditional house type. Their houses follow no particular plan and, therefore, represent an odd medley of house forms.

346 Temples. Breeks (1873: Plate LXXV) obtained a photograph showing the old Melur temple, and this is apparently the only record of a circular Badaga temple. Its basal portion had spaced posts standing upright around two or more varying circles with identical center. Sides were not walled and the roof, resembling an old-fashioned beehive, was thatched. Temples forming a Badaga temple type, not described in the literature concerning Badagas, are constructed [342] in house-rows. They sometimes share a common wall with a house or storeroom, but separate temples aligned with houses in a row also [531] exist (Figure 17). Row-temples are constructed with materials now employed in house construction and look rather like houses, but frequent presence of roof superstructures decorated with bulls and deity images automatically sets them apart (Plate X, B). Their design closely parallels the plan used in traditional houses. Porches flank

241 were transferred from Malabar to the Nilgiri District in 1860. After
651 a farmer paid a tax ranging from one to one rupee and eight annas per plow, or four to eight annas per hoe (erkadu kottukadu revenue system), he could cultivate as much land as he desired to in any chosen locality. Forest lands were not excluded. Consequently, cultivated plots were constantly being abandoned for new ones opened up or reclaared. The two land revenue systems resulting in shifting agriculture were formally abolished in 1863, but in actual practice they lingered on until about 1884 (Francis 1908: 268-270).

651 In 1863 the English instituted a system of taxation whereby farmers were expected to pay taxes on all claimed lands, but inaccurate knowledge concerning claimed lands and actual agricultural practices led to continuance of old ways. As a result of the Final Land Settlement of 1881-84, all claimed lands were mapped and accurately recorded [423] for taxation purposes. Each individual was given a title (patta) to his land, but from thenceforth was expected to pay land revenue based on land extent and quality (Francis 1908: 274-278). During post-1884 311 years remnants of old practices remained. Although Badagas paid rev- [651] enue according to the lands owned by them, an individual's scattered plots away from a community might be cultivated periodically during the years, or left vacant for years until the owner decided to place more land under cultivation. Plots close to a community, especially those used for kitchen gardens, were usually cultivated at least once [178] a year (Ranga 1934: 13-16). Nowadays, however, 1) fertilizer applica- [291] tion, 2) cash obtained through potato sales, 3) the spreading desire to plant more tea, and 4) decreasing opportunities for individuals to

311 purchase cultivable land near Badaga communities have lowered the
(178) possibilities of land away from a community remaining uncultivated
(241) from year to year.

The agricultural cycle. Harkness (1832: 136-137) gave details
175 concerning two yearly agricultural seasons, each of which coincided
221 with westerly or easterly monsoons. Italian, koda (Paspalum scrobic-
241 ulatum L.), little, and finger millet, amaranth, barley, wheat, garlic, onions, and mustard were sown in May, then harvested from August into September. After this main season ground was sometimes left fallow until the following May, but some Badagas prepared soil almost immediately for chick peas (Cicer arietinum L.), fenugreek, lentil (Ervum lens L.), and poppies, which were all said to be harvested in December and January. Harkness, however, understated the maturation time for poppies--a period closer to nine months. Poppy seeds were probably planted in May, for cooler weather during dry months was the best time to extract poppy juice. In March and April seeds of gourds, pumpkins, and lablab beans were planted. From the first two species and their progeny produce was gathered for years. Lablab beans mature in five to seven months, depending upon the variety grown. Another millet identified as koralie (another variety of Italian millet?) and sown in March-April supposedly took nine months to mature, but it is doubtful that this grain grew so long before maturing.

221 The two agricultural seasons of the year have persisted. Sowing
241 and planting during the main season (karbokan) take place from March into April, and harvesting extends from July into September. In the

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AN50 Badaga AN50
Kota AN55
Kurumba AN56
Toda AN60
Madras Tribes AN63
Kasuva

121 M7 seeds by Badagas and Kotas, greatly reduced gathering and hunting by Irulas and Kurumbas, and prohibited any type of shifting agriculture on land not owned by Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, and Kurumbas. As Englishmen established plantations, an ever increasing number of Badagas, Irulas, and Kurumbas sought employment on them. Introduced plants adopted by farmers led to some of the most significant changes. Upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas in this century abandoned plows and became commercial farmers producing potatoes and other "English" vegetables. Members of both ethnic groups also started growing coffee, tea, temperate berries and fruits, acacias, and eucalypti. The Irulas, Kurumbas, and Wynaad Badagas and Kotas planted introduced plants in their gardens. As to be expected, it was the Badagas who took the most advantage of new opportunities. Besides becoming the leading commercial farmers, they educated themselves more than members of other ethnic groups and are now employed in many outside positions not related to the plantation industry.

000 After English administrators departed in 1947, the Madras Government aided Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas. More substantial houses have been built for them. Roads have been constructed or improved to facilitate access to their communities. Attempts to rejuvenate Kota trades and to convert Todas into farmers have met with some success, but attempts to convert old Kurumba trades into money-making enterprises have failed.

121 • M8 Finally, despite changes since 1800, survival of old ways is striking. This is illustrated by the following examples: Badaga houses are built with different materials now, but many apparently

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

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have the same general plan as houses built over a century ago. Though Irulas and Kurumbas were forced to end shifting slash-burn agriculture in the last century, they now shift cultivated plots on land they own. Kotas have lived in only seven villages for over a century. Kurumbas are still feared because of their supposed powers over the supernatural and thereby earn income. Toda occupance forms and their traditional economy persist after 100 years; Toda barrel-vaulted huts are outwardly identical to those constructed over 350 years ago.